

Ennius' *Hedyphagetica*:

the case for convivial performance

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Introduction

In their introduction to the *Arethusa* special issue ‘Ennius and the Invention of Roman Epic’, Andreola Rossi and Brian W. Breed identify four elements as fundamental to a reassessment of Ennius’ poetry in its specifically Roman context: ‘its relationship with older Latin preliterate traditions, the socio-cultural context in which the text was produced, its role in the articulation of a historical consciousness in the life of the Roman community and [its] reception’.¹ In the same issue of *Arethusa*, Sciarrino addresses these aspects of the *Annales* while constructing a case for a convivial setting for the introduction of epic in Rome in the late third and early second centuries BCE.² While recent scholarship has gained important insights into the socio-cultural effects of both Roman epic and poetry for public performance, notably the dramatic translations of Plautus, Ennius’ varied poetic output leaves us with further examples of poetry which might also be more suited to a private context.³ Following Sciarrino’s approach to the early epic texts, I offer an exploration of Ennius’ *Hedyphagetica* translation of Arcestratus’ *Hedupatheia* which attempts to respond to the interpretative requirements set out by Rossi and Breed and, in particular, to present a case for a convivial performance setting for this poem. I hope to establish that the convivial setting is as central to Ennius’ conception of his text as it should be to our understanding of it.

Fitting the *Hedyphagetica* into its original socio-cultural context first requires a reassessment of the position of poetry in the context of heightened Roman appropriations of Hellenic culture in early second century Rome. Consideration of the broader politico-historical and cultural background both informs our understanding of poetry in this era as a practice based on performances by foreign professionals and provides the necessary background for our closer reading of the text. However, Ennius’ *Hedyphagetica* translation also appeals to elements of Roman culture which

¹ Rossi and Breed (2006) 398.

² Sciarrino (2006).

³ On Plautine comedy see e.g., McCarthy (2001), Sciarrino (forthcoming). On the focus of recent Ennius scholarship on the *Annales* at the expense of the ‘alternative Ennius’ see Gowers (2007) xi.

predate the city's military expansion. I therefore first briefly examine the earlier history of the Hellenized banquet.

1. Ennius' *Hedyphagetica* and the Roman Appropriation of Hellenism

a) The attraction of Hellenism: the orientalising precedent and the aristocratic banquet

Greek culture was a prestige culture on the Italian peninsula long before Rome's expansion brought about more direct and sustained contact with the Hellenic world.⁴ The beginnings of permanent social stratification in the eighth century BCE are associated with the Greek presence on the peninsula, and, although causality between these initial contacts and the emergence of local elites cannot be determined, the significant influence of Greek culture on the emerging aristocracies is incontestable.⁵ The archaeological record establishes a history of aristocratic attraction towards Hellenic culture which dates to this era, the beginning of the so-called orientalising period. The prestige associated with access to Hellenic culture is reflected in the prominence and exceptional wealth of imported goods deposited in the earliest differentiated burials.⁶ Greek goods and local imitations were a consistent feature of aristocratic burials in Latium, Etruria and the Hellenised non-Greek communities of Campania and Lucania from the eighth to the sixth century BCE.⁷ The deposit of prestige items attests to the wider cultural impact of contacts between the Greek world and native Italian communities. The 'Homeric' parallel for the lifestyle of aristocratic display, conspicuous consumption and the appreciation of foreign goods which characterised early Italian elites is now widely acknowledged.⁸ Acquisition of honour

⁴ Gruen (1992) 227, 269; Cornell (1995) 397, 81-118; David (1997) 46; Sciarrino (2006) 451; Miles (2008) 14.

⁵ The beginnings of social stratification are discernible in burial deposits. Increase in wealth and prosperity can be seen in material found in cemeteries in Latial phase III (c.770-730/20 BCE), and the appearance of exceptional funerary wealth in Latial phase IV (orientalising c.730-580 BCE): Cornell (1995) 81. The waste of prestige goods can be understood as 'an active factor in social reproduction': Habinek (2005a) 41, citing Hedeager (1992).

⁶ Cornell (1995) 81-3.

⁷ Cornell (1995) 85, Habinek (2005a) 40-1.

⁸ Rathje (1990) 280 and *passim*; Cornell (1995) 87-92. As an Homeric parallel for the enhanced symbolic value of foreign items, we have especially *Od.* 4. 612-19 and 15.111-19, Menelaus' gift to Telemachus. Wrought by Hephaestus and a gift from the king of the Sidonians, the mixing bowl is described by Menelaus as the most beautiful and precious of his treasures, ὃ κάλλιστον καὶ τιμυέστατον ἐστὶ (4.614 = 15.114). Cf. also *Od.* 4.120-9, on the pedigree of gifts from Egyptian Thebes.

and prestige reinforced through institutions of gift-exchange, guest friendship and feasting, familiar from the Homeric epics, appear also to have been defining features of aristocracies in Italy.⁹ Inscribed grave goods reveal the wide circulation of prestige items by means of gift exchange, and close contacts between elite groups are reflected in the emergence of a cultural *koinê* at this period.¹⁰ The Hellenic world was not only a source of prestige goods, but provided a cultural model by which Italian aristocracies could define themselves.¹¹

Feasting was an institution of central importance to the Homeric lifestyle and in the Italian context the banquet became ‘the most conspicuous expression’ of the aristocratic way of life.¹² Greater social stratification brought about significant changes to banqueting practices on the Italian peninsula. The increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of a dominant class created the potential for more lavish banqueting. The archaeological record reveals the adoption of Greek customs and consequent changes to material culture. These were integrated into local rituals of commensality as the new elites looked to Eastern models as a source of differentiation.¹³ The adoption of Greek banqueting practices was a potent source of

⁹ Cornell (1995) 87, drawing on the work of Murray (1980, 1983, 1989).

¹⁰ Cornell (1995) 88. On the emergence of a cultural *koinê*, see Cristofani (1984); Rathje (1990) 279; Cornell (1995) 89, 158. Finds from the Italian *tombe principesche* parallel finds from contemporary Greek burials. The tombs themselves were modelled on Greek prototypes. The display of wealth through funerary luxury was a Greek practice; see Cornell (1995) 89-92. See Cornell (1995) 86 on the orientalising phenomenon affecting Greece at the same time and on the simultaneous exposure of Italian populations to oriental and orientalising Greek culture. For the consensus view on direct Phoenician trade in Italy see Cornell (1995) 86; cf. Rathje (1979); Rathje (1984); Rathje (1990); Rathje (1994); Rathje (1995). On the inscriptional evidence see also Smith (1996) 233-6, 248-9.

¹¹ Cornell (1995) 87. Cornell (1995) 88-9 remarks: ‘If we are searching for a social context to explain the princely tombs of central Italy, we need look no further than the world of Odysseus. It is not simply an apt comparison; it is the model which the Italian aristocracies *consciously* adopted’ (my italics). See also Rathje (1988) 85, (1990).

¹² Rathje (1984); Rathje (1990) 279. See also Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 17, who describes the banquet and its ideological, cultural and economic significance as an essential point of reference for Italian aristocratic elites. On the importance of feasting in Homeric epic see e.g. *Od.* 9.4-10, with Rathje (1990) 282-3; Rathje (1994); Habinek (2005a) 270 n.34. For a sociological perspective on commensality as an assertion of collective identity see Goody (1982) 10-17 and *passim*.

¹³ Rüpke (1998) 193-4 argues that Greek banquet culture had influenced Italian aristocracies since the orientalising period. He points out the double influence of the Greek East and southern Italy, though the Greek influence had different manifestations in different communities across the peninsula. On commensality representing a powerful ritual of group

elite display.¹⁴ Banqueting equipment was prominent among grave goods and reflected strongly on the status of their owner.¹⁵ Deposits included both imported items and local imitations, for instance Etruscan bucchero ware, which emulated the appearance of more precious metallic vessels from the East.¹⁶ Evidence for the banquet as part of the lived experience of early elites reveals the same demand for the status conferred by luxury as the burial deposits.¹⁷ The banquet frieze from Murlo is a significant example of the ‘convivial life-style’ from a non-funerary context and provides a vivid depiction of the ostentation and display of the elite banquet and the incorporation of elements of the Greek symposium into a banquet scene generally interpreted as representing members of the local Etruscan aristocracy.¹⁸ The frieze depicts innovations in the vase repertoire which reflect the introduction of a new drinking ritual with wine.¹⁹ The mixing bowl for wine, the *lebes*, and its stand occupy

definition see Goody (1982) 10-17; Rüpke (1998) 193-6; Murray (1990a); Donahue (2003). For examples of aristocratic societies securing coherence through banquets see Rathje (1990) 283 and more generally see Goody (1982); Wiessner (1996) 6; Dietler (1996) 89-91, the last of whom describes feasting as the performance of ‘politico-symbolic drama’.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Rathje (1994) 96.

¹⁵ Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 17, Habinek (2005a) 40-1: ‘As a widespread archaic Italian funerary practice, the deposit of items of convivial significance continues into the afterlife a culture of distinction via aristocratic display. Those who could differentiate themselves during their lifetime by a convivial life-style involving conspicuous display maintain the distinction (or have it maintained by their survivors) through funeral banquet, procession to the cemetery, and deposit of goods in the burial *corredo*.’

¹⁶ Rathje (1990) 282; Spivey (1997) 37-9. On bucchero in particular see Spivey (1997) 39 who describes bucchero services in seventh century tombs as ‘a testament of some formal luxury, if not in strict terms of value, at least in terms of function.’

¹⁷ On the connection between funerary luxury and luxurious banqueting and on the accumulation of treasure and aristocratic exhibitionism as characteristics of early elites in general see Rathje (1990) 280; Rathje (1994) 96; Rathje (1995) 170; Cornell (1995) 87-93.

¹⁸ For interpretations of the frieze as a whole see Rathje 1994 (95); Sinos (1994); Habinek (2005a) 41-2. For interpretations of the banquet frieze see Small (1971); Small (1994); Rathje (1994); Rathje (1995); Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 171-85. It is generally accepted that the frieze as a whole represents an elite life-style: Rystedt (1984) 369; Rathje (1994) 95; Sinos (1994); Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 172; Habinek (2005a) 41-2. Rathje (1995) 170 notes that, although dating from c. 575 BCE, the frieze can be cogently interpreted as a representation of an orientalising banquet. On the evidence from the orientalising complex, destroyed c. 600 BCE, see especially Rystedt (1984). For a more recent assessment of the dating of the archaic complex to c. 590-80 see Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 15.

¹⁹ Cf. the appearance of Phoenician wine amphorae in some of the earliest aristocratic burials, at e.g. Castel di Decima: CLP (1976) 252-288; Gras (1983); Rathje (1990) 282; Cornell (1995) 81-2. For an Homeric parallel: *Od.* 2.337-47 (Odysseus’ *thalamos*). On the significance of imported wine to Latin aristocrats see Gras (1983); Schmitt Pantel (1985) 141. On innovations to the vase repertoire see Rathje (1990) 280; Rathje (1983). The Greek names of these vases were also imported: Rathje (1990) 280; Cornell (1995) 89. It is however important to emphasise that we are not dealing with manifestations of *symposia* in an Italian context but the integration of elements of the *symposium* into local banqueting practices

the central position on the plaque and are accompanied by other Greek types, for instance the *oinochoê* held by the framing serving figures and the ‘Ionic bowl’.²⁰ The careful rendering of the vases suggests the prestige which they conveyed.²¹ The vase types represented on the frieze are familiar from both funerary deposits and from the large quantity of corresponding banquet equipment found *in situ*.²² The Murlo frieze is also the earliest Western representation of a reclining banquet, a practice clearly inspired by Eastern models.²³ The frieze plaques form part of a series of depictions of elite banquets from across central Italy, including the more fragmentary Roma–Veio–Velletri type terracottas, indicating that the adoption of Eastern banqueting practices was widespread.²⁴ Changes to the elite banquet reflect both the profound Hellenic influence on all aspects of life, social, economic and cultural and the status which access to Greek culture conferred. The convivial lifestyle was central to the expression of elite identity and the incorporation of Greek customs enhanced this expression, performing a strongly legitimising role for local aristocracies.²⁵

centred on the consumption of food. I will return to the significance of the distinction between banqueting, or an ‘aufwendige Eßkultur’, and *symposia* in my discussion of the *Hedyphagetica*.

²⁰ Small (1971). For the *lebes* see Small (1971) 26; Rathje (1995) 171. For the Ionic cup see Rathje (1995) 173.

²¹ Small (1971); Rathje (1994) 97. A further example from an Etruscan context of the connection between status and the depiction of vases is the appearance of *kylikeia* in Etruscan tomb paintings *c.*520. The painted *kylikeia* are an additional ‘symbol of aristocratic abundance and wealth’, as Van der Meer puts it. Painted representations of *kylikeia* in a funerary context are believed to be the result of Ionian influence; see Van der Meer (1984) 304 and *passim*.

²² Rathje (1988) 87; Rathje (1994) 98; Rathje (1995) 170; Small (1971). The frieze itself is also a significant form of display and shows a distinct Corinthian influence: Small (1971); Van der Meer (1984) 298. The banquet service from Latin Ficana provides similar confirmation of the correspondence between funerary deposits and non-funerary contexts in revealing evidence of new banqueting customs among local elites; see Rathje (1983); Rathje (1988) 83; Rathje (1990) 280; Cornell (1995) 89; Smith (1996) 244. Compare the fragmentary finds from the Forum Romanum of similar banquet equipment in connection with an Archaic house: Rathje (1988) 84.

²³ Rathje (1990) 284; Rathje (1995) 170. Note that sitting and reclining banquets co-existed: see Rathje (1990) 284-5. On the reclining banquet as ‘evocative of power and prestige’ see also Dunbabin (2003) 11-13, 17 (quotation at p. 17). The adoption of the reclining banquet in turn brought about changes to disposition of convivial space: for a discussion of the excavation of a private house with a *triclinium* on the Palatine dated to the late sixth century see Carandini (1997) 11; Habinek (2005a) 270 n.33.

²⁴ Small (1971) 41-6; Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 361ff; Sciarrino (forthcoming). According to Dunbabin (2003) 32, the Roman plaque is the earliest surviving representation of a banquet in Rome.

²⁵ Note that the *convivium* was the focal point of the lifestyle of the aristocracy, rather than a gathering of a group of individuals like the later Greek *symposium*; see Rathje (1994) 97; Rathje (1995) 171; Cornell (1995) 87, 397.

b) Roman military expansion and the increasing attraction of Hellenism: public and private display

Aristocratic recourse to drawing legitimisation from the appropriation of Hellenic culture therefore had a long history before Rome's emergence as a military power in the fourth century BCE.²⁶ The consequent expansion of Roman territory into *Magna Graecia* and the Greek East in the third and second centuries brought about a new situation of Rome's political dominance vis à vis the cultural dominance of the Hellenic world.²⁷ This confrontation had important socio-cultural consequences. The changing power relations between Greece and Rome caused both an increase in competition among members of Rome's aristocratic elite and an intensification of the attraction exercised by Hellenism.²⁸ From the fourth century there is growing evidence of Rome's deliberate attempts to enter and define a place in the Greek cultural world.²⁹ Manifestations include: the adoption of Greek *cognomina* by certain Roman *nobiles*; the adoption of coinage; evidence of Rome inscribing itself in Greek history and myth, at the impetus of Roman expansion into Greek-speaking areas and in an effort to 'validate its association with the Greek cities of Italy'.³⁰ The connection

²⁶ Cornell (1995) 92 describes Hellenism as 'the single most important factor of change and development in Roman (and Italian) history'. The influence of Hellenic culture remained widespread until the fifth century when the city entered a period of comparative isolation. Cornell (1995) 397. On the influence of Greek ideas on Roman political, legal and religious institutions in the archaic age see Cornell (1995) 81-118.

²⁷ Cornell (1995) 397; Rüpke (2001) 60; Sciarrino (2006) 451. For a full treatment see Gruen (1984); Gruen (1990); Gruen (1992). Cf. Habinek (1998) 34, 180 n.2. Roman expansion began with the capture of Veii in 396 BCE. The conquest of peninsular Italy was complete by 264, of Sicily by 211.

²⁸ On the increasing intensity of Rome's political and military engagements with the Greek world and its culture in the third and second centuries see especially Gruen (1992) 223-71, in particular 223, 227; Gruen (1984) 309; David (1997) 44; Rüpke (2004) 38; Boatwright, Gargola & Talbert (2004) 94; Sciarrino (2006) 451. On the increase in intra-elite competition see Gruen (1984) 219-49; Gruen (1990) 69-72, 129-37; David (1997) 50-1 and below, pp. 11-12, 49-50.

²⁹ Gruen (1992) 223; Cornell (1995) 397-8.

³⁰ Quotation at Gruen (1992) 29. On *cognomina* see Gruen (1984) 251; Gruen (1992) 227; Cornell (1995) 397; Sciarrino (2006) 451. On coinage see Cornell (1995) 394-397; David (1997) 45; Sciarrino (2006) 451. The adoption of coinage was a consequence of Rome's political engagement in Campania. Roman coins were first issued in regular sequences at the time of the Pyrrhic War. For a full account of the adoption of the Trojan legend see Gruen (1992) 6-51. For its particular bearing on Rome's relationship with the Greek world: Gruen (1992) 29-31; Gruen (1990) 20. Cf. Pyrrhus' manipulation of the Trojan legend: Gruen

appears to have been securely established by the third century.³¹ The common origin in myth provided the basis for the importation of associated cults, a process carried out with the sanction of the Senate. The construction of a Temple to the Sicilian Venus Erycina on the Capitol in 215 provided a conspicuous validation of the myth and in 205 the transfer of the cult of Magna Mater from Mount Ida to the Palatine was an even more pronounced assertion of the significance of Rome's connection with Hellenic legend.³² Rome's receptiveness to Greek rites was not restricted to those with a specific bearing on its Trojan origins. Roman religion had a long history of inclusiveness and by the third century the role of foreign religious ceremonies in providing 'outside legitimation' was commonplace.³³ Roman receptivity to Greek culture in the orientalising and archaic periods had been important to elite identity as a potent source of differentiation, made meaningful by many outward signs of display.³⁴ In the third and second centuries, access to and adoption of the cultural

(1990) 12, 20; Gruen (1992) 27, 30, 44; Lomas (1993) 53. Gruen (1992) 31 makes the important point that while the myth of Trojan origins 'enabled Rome to associate itself with the rich and complex fabric of Hellenic tradition', nonetheless, as descendants of the Trojans, the Romans' place within the tradition was distinct from the Greeks', thus contributing to a heightened sense of Roman identity; see also Gruen (1990) 20, 33.

³¹ On the tradition in the third century see Gruen (1992) 31; Gruen (1990) 12.

³² On Venus Erycina see Gruen (1990) 8-9, 14; Gruen (1992) 46-7, 229. The cult originated in Sicilian Eryx, where Aeneas had dedicated a shrine to his mother. On the Magna Mater see Gruen (1990) 5-33; Gruen (1992) 47, 229. Ida was a place of significance for Aeneas, and the Magna Mater was the protective deity of Trojans. Gruen (1990) 33 regards the acquisition of the Magna Mater as exemplary in terms of Rome's 'solicitation of Hellenic culture to advance her own political, diplomatic and military purposes, to elevate her international prestige, and to sharpen her sense of national identity.' On the abrupt decrease in allusions to the myth after the late third and early second centuries see Gruen (1992) 50. On historical accounts of Rome's origins written in Greek see Gruen (1992) 7-44. Manifestations of the Trojan myth are of course found in early poetic accounts of Rome's origins: on the *Penates* see Naevius fr. 2-4 (Warmington) *Postquam auem aspexit in templo Anchisa, / sacra in mensa Penatium ordine ponuntur; / immolabat auream uictimam pulchram*; on the *Lares* see the hexameter fragment attributed to Ennius, *Varia* 12 (Warmington): *uosque Lares, tectum nostrum qui funditus curant*; on the sack of Troy and the arrival in the West as the starting point for the foundation of Roman history see Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* Book 1 and Ennius' *Annales* Book 1.15-31. On the significance of Livius Andronicus' *Odussia* translation see Gruen (1990) 85; Rüpke (2001) 55; Sciarrino (2006).

³³ Gruen (1984) 253; Gruen (1990) 7-8; Gruen (1992) 228. Examples include the Sybilline books, consulted since the fifth century; Apollo's cult in Rome, installed in 431; the dedication of a temple to Demeter in 493, although its Hellenic features became predominant only later in the century. The first 'overt public transfer of a Greek cult' occurred in 293, the creation of a temple to Asclepius in 291. For further examples from the third century see Gruen (1990) 7-10; Gruen (1992) 228-9. On victory cults based on Hellenistic models see Cornell (1995) 397; David (1997) 46.

³⁴ Outward signs of display included architectural and decorative techniques such as the monumentalisation of architectural structures including tombs, architectural revetment

resources of the Greek-speaking world was on a much larger scale. The display of the new patricio-plebeian elite, the *nobilitas*, had an international audience, not only demonstrating Rome's ability to participate in the Greek intellectual world, but also showing that Rome's cultural ascendancy in the Mediterranean matched its political and military ascendancy. The connection between Roman cultural appropriations and the city's military and political history has been well established by Gruen.³⁵ As Gruen emphasises, the 'parading' of Rome's cultural heritage was 'closely accompanied by the display of Roman might in the Mediterranean', revealing a strong correlation between Rome's military expansion and the importation of Greek culture.³⁶

While there had been a long trend of Roman appreciation for and adoption of Greek culture and ideas, military expansion into *Magna Graecia* and the Greek East in the late third and early second centuries offered Rome unrestricted access to Greek cultural goods.³⁷ The despoliation of sacked cities created opportunities for the physical appropriation of Greek culture and brought about a rapid increase in the flow of foreign material culture into Rome.³⁸ Artworks were highly prized among the

friezes, terracotta acroteria, burial deposits. On the monumentalisation of architecture see Rathje (1983) 9-10. On changes to burial practices see Cornell (1995) 81-5.

³⁵ The cults of Venus Erycina and the Magna Mater are salient examples. The temple of Venus Erycina was established in the aftermath of the Lake Trasimene disaster following consultation of the *libri Sibyllini*. These also recommended the importation of the Magna Mater in 205, which was executed prior to the invasion of Africa and in the same year as the Peace of Phoenice, which concluded the First Macedonian War. On the historical and political background of the Magna Mater see Gruen (1990) 21-33; Gruen (1992) 47-8. On the connection of *coinage* with military history see above, p. 7.

³⁶ Gruen (1992) in particular 50-1. On the connection between poetic practices and military conquest see Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2006) and below, pp. 12 -16 and *passim*.

³⁷ Rome's direct military engagement with *Magna Graecia* began in 285: Cornell (1995) 363. Pyrrhus was defeated in 275: Cornell (1995) 398. The defeat of Pyrrhus was seen retrospectively to inaugurate Rome's overseas triumphs; see Florus 1.13.1, *transmarinos triumphos auspicaretur*. On the Pyrrhic war see Crawford (1992) 5-6, 45-8; Lomas (1993) 50-6; Cornell (1995) 363-4; Boatwright, Gargola & Talbert (2004) 90-4. On the Pyrrhic war as source of contact with Greek culture see Suerbaum (2002) 26. For Ennius' treatment of the Pyrrhic War see Fantham (2006); Roth (2010).

³⁸ The spoils of Tarentum (272) included statues and pictures, which were paraded along with gold, purple, other manifestations of Tarentine luxury, and Pyrrhus' elephants: Florus 1.13.25-8; Gruen (1984) 252; Gruen (1992) 89, 99. However, Miles (2008) 61-2 has recently raised the possibility that Florus' mention of statuary amongst the spoils reflects a confusion with the more famous sack in 209. The fall of Syracuse in 211 was the first Roman sack of a major Greek city and M. Claudius Marcellus' triumphal procession was widely considered in

spoils and a prominent feature of triumphal display. M. Fulvius Nobilior's sack of Ambracia, a former seat of Pyrrhus of Epirus, yielded particularly rich booty.³⁹ 785 bronze and 230 marble statues were paraded in his triumph in 187 and must have created an imposing physical presence alongside the gold, silver, coins, military equipment and some 27 conquered generals.⁴⁰ The care taken in the appropriate distribution of artworks transferred to Rome reveals the high value in which these items were held by the elite. The *collegium pontificum* was responsible for discriminating between the sacred and the profane. While sacred items were re-consecrated, the remainder provided ample opportunity for personal dedications by returning generals, which, while further enhancing Rome's civic and religious institutions, also conferred personal glory on the dedicator.⁴¹ New commemorative artworks were also commissioned: paintings of conquered places were to be displayed

antiquity as the first major display of Greek art in Rome. On Marcellus' sack of Syracuse, see Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 96; Gruen (1992) 84, 94-101, 242; Miles (2008) 61-71. Ancient comments on the amount of art plundered include Polybius 9.10 and Livy 25.40, 25.31.11, 26.21.6-10. On the construction of the event as an artificial turning point by ancient authors see Gruen (1992) 86-94, 96-107. Miles (2008) 63-4, following Gruen, points to Polybius' account as the origin of the *topos* illustrating 'the complex issues of Roman military dominance over Greece, intertwined with Roman appreciation of Greek cultural accomplishments.' Cf. Livy 25.40.1-3: *ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia uolgo spoliandi*. On the precedent for Rome's acquisition of art as booty and its 'installation as tokens of victory in Rome', dating from the defeat of Veii in 396, see Gruen (1992) 86-91, 96-7, 107, with the quotation at p. 86; Krostenko (2001) 23. On the sack of Syracuse as a major turning point in the Hannibalic War see Gruen (1992) 94.

³⁹ Miles (2008) 70 notes that this was the 'first capture and (partial) sack of Greek city in mainland Greece'. Fulvius was accused of having confiscated every artwork and despoiled every temple in the state: Livy 38.43.5. On Ambracia as a former residence of Pyrrhus see Livy 38.9.13; Polybius 21.30.9; Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 96; Goldberg (1989) 257, Gruen (1992) 107-8; Miles (2008) 69. On the plunder of artworks from Ambracia see also Polybius 21.30.9; Livy 38.9.13; Gruen (1992) 108; Sciarrino (2004a) 45. On M. Fulvius Nobilior see Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 95-103; Gruen (1990) 69-71, 132; Gruen (1992) 107-10; Sciarrino (2004a); Miles (2008) 69-70.

⁴⁰ Livy 39.5.14-16.

⁴¹ Polybius 9.10.13: ταῖς μὲν ἰδιωτικαῖς κατασκευαῖς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκοσμήσαν βίους, ταῖς δὲ δημοσίαις τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως, referring to Marcellus' spoils from Syracuse. See also Plut. *Marc.* 30.4; Gruen (1992) 99, 103. On the role of the *collegium pontificum* see Gruen (1992) 103, 108-10; Sciarrino (2004a) 45. On the dedication of spoils see also Sciarrino (2004a) 46: 'Roman generals used part of the artifacts that they seized from the conquered to visualize their military successes during triumphs and to lavish the community with new sites of cult where many of these artifacts were collocated'. For a discussion of Fulvius Nobilior's dedications see especially Sciarrino (2004a); Gruen (1992) 108-10 and below. Cf. also the display of Syracusan art at Marcellus' Temple of *Honos* and *Virtus*: Gruen (1992) 100-1. For a full discussion of civic uses of captured art see Gruen (1992) 84-130. For examples of dedicated and rededicated statuary from the fourth and third centuries and of the continuity of attitudes to art from the fourth century see Gruen (1992) 107.

during and after the triumphal procession and other victory monuments were designed for permanent public display.⁴² The spoils of war also increased the opportunity for private collection of Greek art and artefacts.⁴³ Contemporary debate over the allocation of triumphs and spoils attests to the significant increase in intra-elite competition following the Hannibalic and Antiochene wars. The Eastern victories in particular offered successful generals access to ‘unusual influence, prestige and wealth’.⁴⁴ In this environment, access to Hellenic culture emerged as a significant source of competitive display among Rome’s ruling elite.⁴⁵ In 201, one decade after

⁴² Gruen (1992) 90; Krostenko (2001) 23. By the end of the third century monuments commemorating important military success were an established feature of the Roman cityscape. For the paintings on display at Scipio Africanus’ triumph in 201, see Appian, *Pun.* 66. μιμήματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν γεγονότων. For the painting recording Scipio Asiagenus’ victory over Antiochus III in 190, exhibited on the Capitoline, see Pliny *NH* 35.22; Gruen (1992) 102-3, 106, 108-9; David (1997) 51. On the precedent for commissions of new art see Gruen (1992) 88-94, especially 90, 94; Krostenko (2001) 23. For the suggestion that the *Fasti* were presented as a wall painting with a dedication see Rüpke (2006) 492-3 and *passim*, who further notes (p. 510) the possibility that they were ‘displayed together with paintings that were part of the booty of the Aetolian campaign’. Rüpke emphasises that while part of a decorative program commemorating Roman victories over the Aetolians, the project was ‘utterly Greek’, including its exploitation of writing. He also draws attention (p. 511) to the importance of Ennius’ *Euhemerus* translation as a model for Fulvius’ *Fasti*. On connections between the *Annales* and the *Fasti* see Gildenhard (2003) 94-7.

⁴³ Krostenko (2001) 23-4; Sciarrino (2004a) 45. On the private display of foreign art as a source of aristocratic competition see Krostenko (2001); Rüpke (2004) 38.

⁴⁴ Quotation at Gruen (1990) 72. See also Gruen (1990) 85, 103-30; Gruen (1992) 103-4. The opportunity for individual generals to attain both personal popularity and political prestige was particularly threatening to the collective power of the oligarchy. On the threat of instability among the elite see Livy’s description of Cn. Manlius Vulso’s triumph in 187 (39.7). On heightened elite competition revealed through contemporary debate over the allocation of spoils and triumphs see Gruen (1984) 219-31; Gruen (1990) 69-72, 129-37; Gruen (1992) 94-130. On triumphal processions as source of elite competition see Gruen (1990) 129; Miles (2008) 60, although it is important also to keep in mind the role of the triumph, like other elite practices such as funeral rituals, in ‘firmly implant[ing] the legitimacy of [elite] authority in the collective memory’: David (1997) 51. For an analysis of the controversies surrounding triumphs reflected in Plautus’ comedies see Gruen (1990) 137-40, and Gruen (1990) 140-57 for the wider effects of expansion. For further discussion of the threat posed to aristocratic hegemony by the enrichment of individuals and the competitive display of wealth in this era see Habinek (1998) 36, 62.

⁴⁵ Gruen (1992) 223-71 examines ancient evidence for the ambivalence of Roman attitudes towards the Greek world and the large amount of scholarship devoted to this question (summarised by Gruen [1992] 224-7). His conclusions suggest that the *topos* of moral decline emerges as part of a later moralising tradition, rather than from contemporary debates: Gruen (1992) 260. I will return briefly to the controversy surrounding the negative perception of Hellenism in my discussion of the reception of the *Hedyphagetica* below, n.223. Important here is the continuity of the attraction of Hellenism for the Roman aristocracy.

the first major display of Greek art in Rome, Scipio Asiagenus returned from campaign with Greek art among his booty and Greek *artifices* in his retinue.⁴⁶

c) Public appropriations of the *ars poetica*: poetry in a civic setting

The influx of foreigners into Rome that was the consequence of the city's expanding hegemony included a number of skilled craftsmen and intellectuals, initially from Hellenic southern Italy and increasingly from the wider Greek-speaking world.⁴⁷ *Artifices* brought into the city by returning generals contributed to a strong and established presence of Greek artisans already carrying out commissions from Rome's elite.⁴⁸ The presence of poetic craftsmen was also closely connected to the city's military history.⁴⁹ Like Roman appropriation of the plastic arts, the new literary or poetic culture first appeared in a civic context associated with a military event.⁵⁰ In the same way that Greek rites contributed to the legitimacy of Roman religion and Greek art adorned new cult sites, poetic professionals were commissioned to 'expand'

⁴⁶ Livy 39.22.10. Gruen (1992) 85, 106, 109, 114-5, 134-5. Livy (37.59.3) records that 134 representations of towns (*oppidorum simulacra*) were displayed in Asiagenus' triumph. On Asiagenus' triumph: Livy 37.59.3-6. Cf. also Fulvius Nobilior: Livy 39.22.2, *multi artifices ex Graecia uenerunt honoris eius causa*; L. Scipio Asiagenus: Livy 39.22.10, *tum collatas ei pecunias congregatosque per Asiam artifices*; L. Aemilius Paullus provides a significant but later example: Gruen (1992) 114-5. On the presence of Greek artists in Rome in the third century see Gruen (1992) 134-7.

⁴⁷ On the growth and effects of slavery and its role in Rome's 'transformation from city-state to a traditional aristocratic empire' see Cornell (1995) 393; Habinek (1998) 35 (whence the quotation); Sciarrino (2006) 451.

⁴⁸ Gruen (1992) 131, 134-9. For a full discussion of Greek artists in Rome see Gruen (1992) 131-41. Cf. Naevius' *Tunicularia* fr. 97-100 Warmington: *Theodotum / cum Apella comparas qui Compitalibus / sedens in cella circumtectus tegetibus / Lares ludentes peni pinxit bubulo?*

⁴⁹ On Livius Andronicus as a prisoner of war see Cicero *Brut.* 72-3. Sciarrino (2006) 452 n.10 and (forthcoming) notes that although the chronology may be unreliable, the narrative paradigm is significant. Terence and Caecilius Statius also came to Rome as captives: Gellius 4.20.13 and Nepos *Ter.* 1 respectively. According to tradition, Ennius was brought back to Rome by Cato, Nepos *Cato* 1.4: Gruen (1990) 107-8; Sciarrino (2006) 452; Sciarrino (forthcoming) and below, pp. 27-8. Plautus and Naevius appear to have arrived independently in Rome; see Plautus *Most.* 769-70 on Plautus' Umbrian origins and Gellius 1.24.2 on Naevius: Sciarrino (2006) 452.

⁵⁰ On the perception of poetic drama in Latin as something new: Livy 7.2.3-13; see especially Livy 7.2.3-4, *Et cum uis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope diuina leuaretur, uictis superstitione animis ludi quoque scenici, noua res bellicoso populo – nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat – inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur; ceterum parua quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit.* Sciarrino (2006) 451-2. For a full discussion of the public context of early Latin literature see Gruen (1990) 79-123.

Roman religious rituals.⁵¹ This involved elite sponsorship of professional translations of Greek plays for performance in a Roman civic context, public festivals which would ‘celebrate the supremacy of Rome and its ruling body in the Mediterranean’.⁵² By drawing together ‘distinct cultural traditions’, Greek theatrical texts and local song culture, poetic scripts were able to fulfil an entirely new ‘ritual function’.⁵³ The first dramatic translation was commissioned by the Senate for performance at the *Ludi Romani* of 240, in celebration of Rome’s victory in the First Punic War, a victory which had asserted Roman dominance in Hellenic southern Italy and Sicily.⁵⁴ Livius Andronicus’ translation was considered by later authors as the inauguration of the dramatic tradition in Rome.⁵⁵ The translation also establishes a clear connection between the new literary culture and military conquest from the inception of the dramatic tradition.⁵⁶ The commissioning of a Greek cultural form in a celebration of Roman military ascendancy created what Gruen has described as an ‘international dimension’ to Rome’s national ceremony, highlighting the ‘attainments’ of Rome and demonstrating the city’s competitive position on a cultural level.⁵⁷ Dramatic performances were increasingly incorporated into public festivals and the number of

⁵¹ Sciarrino (2004a) 46-7; Sciarrino (2004b) 327, 354; Sciarrino (2006) 452.

⁵² Sciarrino (2004b) 327.

⁵³ Sciarrino (forthcoming). For a discussion of this aspect of Plautine comedy in light of recent research see Sciarrino (forthcoming). For an analysis of the dialogic interaction between comic modes in Plautus see McCarthy (2001) 3-19 and *passim*, who emphasises the need to ‘think of secondariness as a value-neutral term that merely describes a literary process’ (p. 9 n.2). Prologues which identify the Greek material transformed by the poet include Plautus *Trin.* 18-19, *huic Graece nomen est Thensauro fabulae: / Philemo scripsit, Plautus uortit barbare*; *Asin.* 10-11, *dicam: huic nomen Graece Onagost fabulae; / Demophilus scripsit, Maccus uortit barbare*; *Merc.* 9-10, *graece haec uocatur Emporos Philemonis, / eadem Latine Mercator Macci Titi*. See further Sciarrino (forthcoming).

⁵⁴ Gruen (1990) 82-4; Habinek (1998) 39.

⁵⁵ Cicero *Brut.* 72-3; Livy 7.2.7-8, with Gruen (1990) 84; Sciarrino (2006) 451. Livy 7.2.1-3 dates the introduction of *ludi scaenici* to 364. On the previous dramatic tradition of the *Ludi Romani* see Gruen (1990) 84. On the earlier dramatic tradition in Rome see Gruen (1992) 185. According to the chronology provided by Cicero *Brut.* 72, the inauguration of poetic drama occurred one year before Ennius’ birth (239): Rüpke (2000) 36; Fantham (2004) 273.

⁵⁶ On the connection between ‘poetic practices and military conquest’ see especially Sciarrino (2006) 452: ‘the civic celebrations that hosted poetic performances soon became institutional contexts wherein the cultural heritage of the Greeks was acknowledged in a way that defended and upheld the growing hegemony of the Roman ruling elite.’ Gruen (1990) 82 identifies the link between ‘artistic creation and state policy’.

⁵⁷ Gruen (1990) 84. On ‘aristocratic ascendancy in the arts’ see also Gruen (1992) 221. For a discussion of the relationship between theatre and aristocracy and the role of drama in expressing values of the Roman elite see Gruen (1992) 183-222; Rüpke (2000) 40-2; McCarthy (2001). Habinek (1998) 39-40 discusses the role of drama in the ‘preservation of social cohesion at Rome’.

festivals itself was extended in the late third and early second centuries, a process closely linked with Rome's continued military engagements in this era.⁵⁸ Performances were also staged as part of the ceremonies accompanying the dedication of temples, important sites for the dedication of material spoils deriving from the Greek world.⁵⁹

While the performance of scripted translations formed part of the broader process of Roman appropriation of Greek cultural materials, it initially required, unlike more direct forms of appropriation, the mediation of foreign professionals. Poetry was not perceived as a literary genre but as an activity strongly marked by its association with professionalism.⁶⁰ Although, according to Festus, professional poets in Rome were considered part of the 'existing social category of *scriba*', they appear to have been identified as *poetae*, a direct loan from the Greek ποιητής.⁶¹ By referring to poetic crafting as the *ars poetica*, Cato's description equates the practice of poetry

⁵⁸ On the increase in festivals: Gruen (1990) 84, 127; Gruen (1992) 185-8; Habinek (1998) 39; Rüpke (2000) 40; Sciarrino (2004a) 47 n.14; Sciarrino (2006) 452. Several new festivals were installed during the heightened religiosity of the Hannibalic War, including the *Ludi Megalenses* to 'commemorate transferral of Magna Mater to Rome': Gruen (1992) 185-6. According to Gruen, religious ceremonies encompassing scenic games were 'firmly entrenched' by the later third and early second centuries. *Ludi scaenici* were estimated to have occupied 11 days annually by 200 BCE, and up to twenty by the mid-second century.

⁵⁹ For example, we have the dedication of the temple to Magna Mater in 191: Livy 36.36.3-5, with Gruen (1992) 187; Flower (1995); Sciarrino (2004a) 47. On the dedication of the *aedes Herculis Musarum* as a possible performance context for Ennius' *Ambracia* see Flower (1995); Sciarrino (2004a) 47. On the cultural significance of *fabulae praetextae* see Flower (1995) 171-2 and *passim*. On the later appearance of *ludi scaenici* as part of triumphal celebrations (145) and funeral games (174) see Jocelyn (1972) 999; Gruen (1992) 187, 196. Sciarrino has emphasised the parallels between the initial involvement of poets in ritual activities in Rome and the role of Dionysiac *technitai* in Hellenistic cities: Sciarrino (2004a) 47. See Gruen (1990) 87-88 for a discussion of the impact of *technitai* on the Roman scene.

⁶⁰ Sciarrino (2004a) 55. On the professional nature of poetic production see Zorzetti (1990) 294-5, 304-5; Habinek (1998) 37-8; Rüpke (2000) 43; Sciarrino (2004b) 326-8 and *passim*; Sciarrino (2006) 452-3.

⁶¹ Sciarrino (forthcoming). *Poeta* and associated words first appear in the texts of professional poets. The earliest recorded use is a self-referential one in Naevius' *Epitaph* (*Varia* 3-6 Warmington), although the possibility has been raised that it was not composed by Naevius himself: *Immortales mortales si foret flas flere / flerent diuae Camenae Naevium poetam. / Itaque postquamst Orchi traditus thesauro, / oblitus sunt Romae loquier lingua latina*. Cf. Ennius *Satires* 6-7 Warmington: *Enni poeta salve qui mortalibus / uersus propinas flammeos medullitus!*, and *uisus Homerus adesse poeta* (*Ann.* 3 Sk.), *sancti poetae* (*Op. inc.* 19 Sk.), *Numquam poetor nisi si podager* (*Satires* 21 Warmington). For *poeta* as a Greek loan word see Sciarrino (2004b) 333. On Festus see Sciarrino (forthcoming). For *scriba* as a professional category: *BNP* 13 coll.103-4 s.v. *Scriba* (W. Kierdorf).

with other *technai* both directly, defining it as an *ars*, and implicitly, through the use of ‘a calque on the Greek lexical practice of denoting a *technê*’.⁶² Poetic *technê* consisted in the transfer of Greek literary culture into a Roman context for reception among a Roman audience, signifying the relocation of cultural materials from the ‘new periphery’ to the ‘new centre of power’.⁶³ This transfer was primarily effected through the work of translation.⁶⁴ As Sciarrino has emphasized, unlike the large-scale and immediate appropriation of Greek artefacts gained as manubial wealth, processes of literary appropriation were more gradual, contingent upon poetic expertise in ‘convey[ing] the Greek cultural patrimony piece by piece (literary forms, mythological accounts, performance practices, and so on)’ and ‘mixing it with local cultural material’.⁶⁵ This resulted in the creation of new cultural forms.⁶⁶ While

⁶² Gellius 11.2.5 = Cato *Carmen de moribus* 2, *poeticae artis honos non erat*. Cf. also Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* 1.3, *honorem tamen hui generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis*. For a detailed discussion of the statements see especially Sciarrino (2004b) 332-4 and below, pp. 19-20. On the etymology of *poetica* see Habinek (1998) 38; Sciarrino (2004a) 49. Zorzetti (1990) 294-5 notes that Plautus (*Stichus* 400-1, 454-5) describes poet-parasites as ‘sellers of *logoi*’: *ibo intro ad libros et discam de dictis melioribus; / nam ni illos homines expello, ego occidi planissime* (400-1); *Libros inspexi; tam confido quam potis, / me meum optenturum regem ridiculis meis* (454-5). As a professional practice, poetry was thus an activity inappropriate to be engaged in directly by the Roman elite. On the connotations of professionalism and evidence of a comparable attitude towards the plastic arts see Gruen (1992) 131. For Roman elite attitudes towards professional poetry and the ‘invention’ of the Roman prose tradition by Cato the Censor see especially Sciarrino (2004b).

⁶³ Sciarrino (forthcoming).

⁶⁴ Rüpke (2000) 31: ‘*Konkret sind es Nichtrömer aus dem hellenistischen Kulturraum der Magna Graecia, die den Transfer leisten und zunächst durch Übersetzerarbeit griechische Gattungen populär machen.*’ Sciarrino (2006) 452: ‘once in the city, the main job of the poets was to translate literary materials produced in the Greek speaking world for Roman consumption.’ Poets used the verb *uertere* to describe the act of translation. This usage appears first in Plautus prologues, cited above (n.51). It is interesting to note the many associated meanings of *uertere*, including ‘to divert, transfer (to a different owner, control, or sim.):’ *OLD uerto (uorto)* 16. Compare the etymology of English ‘translate’ = ‘to bear, convey, or remove from one person, place or condition to another; to transfer, transport’, from Latin *translat-us*, *OED* s.v. translate. On the use of *uertere* in the opening line of Livius’ *Odussia* translation see Sciarrino (2006) 453-5; Sciarrino (forthcoming); Hinds (1998) 61-2 (cited by Sciarrino). On *uertere* in Plautus see Sciarrino (forthcoming). On translation see also Jocelyn (1972) 996, 999; Gruen (1992) 232; Suerbaum (2002) 27; Erasmo (2004) 1-4; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On Ennius’ dramatic translations see Jocelyn (1972) 999-1005; Suerbaum (2002) 27-8, 126-8; Erasmo (2004) 18-28.

⁶⁵ Sciarrino (2004a) 46-7. See also the formulation of Rüpke (2001) 54, who describes Greek texts as sources to be ‘*übersetzt, modifiziert und rekombiniert*’. Rüpke (2006) 490 has drawn attention to a line of Ennius’ *Scipio* with the programmatic statement *nam tibi moenimenta mei peperere labores*, ‘for my poetic labors created a monument for you’ (*Op. inc.* 7 Sk.). He interprets this as ‘nothing less than the textual equivalent of the statuary offered by the Roman people that “spoke of” Scipio’s deeds’. He compares *Op. inc.* 3-4 Sk., *Quantam statuam statuet (faciet Vahlen) populus Romanus, / quantam columnam quae res tuas gestas loquator*.

Rome's indigenous literary culture seems to have been associated with performances which were not textually preserved, the new poetic culture was a culture of writing and script-based performance and, consequently, of authorship.⁶⁷ Professional literary production based on written translations was institutionalised with the formation of a writers' guild, the *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, in the temple of Minerva on the Aventine in 206, at the conclusion of the Second Punic War.⁶⁸ The *collegium* represented official sanction for *scribae* and *histriones* and their role in Roman religious practice.⁶⁹ Association with Minerva, 'protectress of the *artifices*', made explicit the professional nature of poetic practices.⁷⁰ However, as Sciarrino has pointed out, while providing public recognition, the establishment of a guild also constituted an attempt to restrict poetic activities to a public context.⁷¹ This contention gains significance in the context of wider contemporary debates. Like other resources from the Hellenic world, access to poetic professionals and the cultural knowledge which they embodied became an object of private competition among the Roman elite.⁷² This opens up the possibility of private performance for poems like Ennius' *Hedyphagetica*.

⁶⁶ In Plautus *Pseud.* 562-70, the clever slave defines dramatic comedy as a 'new invention in some new fashion': *Nam qui in scaenam prouenit, / novo modo nouom aliquid inuentum adferre addecet*.

⁶⁷ Habinek (1998) 37; Rüpke (2000) 31-6; Rüpke (2001) 53-5; Rüpke (2006) 510; Sciarrino (2004b) 327, 333. Habinek (1998) describes poetic culture as 'intimately connected with the preservation, importation, and circulation of texts'. He associates reliance on writing with what he describes as a 'revolution in the sociology of literary production', also contingent upon professionalization of performance and importation of performers (Habinek [1998] 36-7). On the association of authors with individual texts see Habinek (1998) 37.

⁶⁸ Festus 446 L, with Habinek (1998) 37-40; Gruen (1990) 87-91, 128; Gruen (1992) 197; Rüpke (2000) 43; Sciarrino (2004a) 50; Sciarrino (forthcoming). Hieron. *Chron.* 177 (=514) records that Ennius lived nearby: see Jocelyn (1972) 995.

⁶⁹ On state sanction: Gruen (1990) 88-9; Gruen (1992) 197. The *collegium* was intended to grant recognition to Livius Andronicus' contribution to the ceremony which preceded Rome's victory at Metaurus: Festus 446 L. On the significance of Andronicus' hymn see Gruen (1990) 85; Habinek (1998) 39-40; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

⁷⁰ Habinek (1998) 38; Sciarrino (2004b) 50 n.25.

⁷¹ Sciarrino (2004a) 50. Gruen (1992) 141 makes a similar point with regard to the plastic arts: 'The Romans put on display not only their taste in Greek art but also their management of that art'.

⁷² Sciarrino (2004b) 327.

d) A convivial setting for Ennius' poem?

Although public festivals had created the initial commissions for poetic production, Roman sponsorship of poetic professionals did not long remain confined to the civic context. The heightened interest in Hellenism by the later part of third century included an increasing desire for proficiency with the Greek language among Rome's ruling class.⁷³ Although Latin was enforced in official discourse, many anecdotes from military and political contexts record a considerable competence and ease with Greek among members of Rome's elite.⁷⁴ This tendency was given literary expression by Fabius Pictor's composition of a history of Rome in Greek prose at the end of the century.⁷⁵ The inauguration of the genre implies the presence of a cultured Roman elite who could read Greek and, by the mid second century, were even willing to ascribe Hellenic origins to the Latin language.⁷⁶ Greek scholars and teachers increasingly became a part of Roman households.⁷⁷ The introduction to Suetonius' *De*

⁷³ On the increase in Hellenism among the elite in this era see in particular Gruen (1984) 252; Gruen (1992) 230; Cornell (1995) 397-8. For a general discussion of the trend and its escalation over the course of the second century see Gruen (1984) 250-72; Gruen (1992) 223-71.

⁷⁴ For instance Cato the Elder and Quinctius Flaminius. Note that the altered power relationship between Greece and Rome is represented clearly in displays of control over language use. For instance in 191 Cato chose to address the Athenians in Latin with an interpreter, although he could have delivered his address in their native language. Plutarch *Cato* 12.4-5 also reports that he allegedly commented on the inferiority of the translation; see Gruen (1992) 69, 237. Cf. L. Postumius Megellus' unsuccessful address to the Tarentines in Greek in 281: Gruen (1992) 230, 235. On Latin for use in official exchanges see Gruen (1984) 271; Gruen (1992) 235-40. On Flaminius' fluency in Greek see Plut. *Flam.* 5.5 φωνήν τε καὶ διάλεκτον Ἑλλήσι, with Gruen (1984) 256.

⁷⁵ Pictor's fluency in Greek was well remarked upon in antiquity. On his Latin translation of the Delphic verses in 216 see especially Livy 23.11.4: *ex Graeco carmine interpretata recitavit*. On Pictor's competence in Greek see especially Gruen (1992) 229-31, 242, with Gruen (1984) 253-4; Gruen (1990) 10; Cornell (1995) 398. Gruen (1992) 231 argues convincingly that Pictor's historiography was intended primarily for a Roman audience.

⁷⁶ See especially Gruen (1992) 231, with Gruen (1984) 254-5. On the theory of Greek origins for the Latin language see Gruen (1992) 234-5, 270. For further Roman histories written in Greek see Gruen (1984) 254; Gruen (1992) 231.

⁷⁷ Gruen (1990) 158. Cato, for instance, kept an accomplished Greek tutor, a *grammatistes*, among his slaves: Plut. *Cato*, 20.3-5. esp. 20.3, καίτοι χαρίεντα δοῦλον εἶχε γραμματιστὴν ὄνομα Χίλων, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα παῖδας. See further Gruen (1990) 171-2; Gruen (1992) 53-4, 67, 232-3. For the abundant attestations of the association of poets and other Greek intellectuals with members of the Roman elite, especially in the mid-late second century, see Gruen (1992) 233, 251-7. On the relationship between Scipio Aemilianus and Polybius see Habinek (1998) 50-1; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On Ennius' association with prominent Romans see for example Jocelyn (1972) 993-5; Goldberg (1989); Gruen (1990) 106; Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2006) and a recent discussion of the scholarship in Rossi

grammaticis et rhetoribus attests to the role of poets in providing the Roman elite with a grounding in Greek language and learning. Suetonius records that Livius Andronicus and, in the next generation, Ennius taught in both Greek and Latin in both public and private spaces, and made ‘exegetical translations’ from Greek and ‘exemplary readings’ from their own compositions in Latin:

Liuium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotatum est, nihil amplius quam Graecos interpretabantur, aut si quid ipsi Latine composuissent praelegebant. (De Gramm. 1)⁷⁸

Suetonius’ text raises the issue of the movement of poets into private spaces. In his account, the earliest name associated with the dramatic tradition is equally associated with the more exclusive context. While the nature of poetic activities within the domestic sphere is not here made explicit, the contrast with the public spectacle of the *ludi scaenici* implies a more restricted audience inside a more socially exclusive setting.

Like the private collection of Greek artworks and other similar forms of private display of Hellenic culture, by the 180s the Hellenized *convivium* had become a considerable site of elite competition.⁷⁹ Banqueting practices were imported, and

and Breed (2006) 401-8. On Ennius’ construction of poets as repositories of wisdom see Habinek (2006); Rossi and Breed (2006) 421-2 and below, pp. 59-61.

⁷⁸ Gruen (1992) 230 translates *domi forisque*, literally ‘at home and in public’, as ‘on both public and private commissions’. I follow Sciarrino’s (2006) 454 translation of *interpretabantur* as it provides a nuanced rendering of *interpretor*, ‘to explain, expound, interpret, translate’: *L&S* s.v. *interpretor* 1; cf. Gruen (1990) 83 ‘interpreting’, and Gruen (1992) 230, 232 ‘lectured on’. Similarly, I adopt Sciarrino’s ‘[engage in] exemplary readings’ for *praelego*, ‘to read and explain to others, to lecture upon’; cf. Gruen (1990); Gruen (1992) ‘read aloud from’.

⁷⁹ Krostenko (2001) 23-4; Habinek (2005a) 42. Further manifestations included the adoption of Greek architectural and decorative forms in private homes: Cato *ORF* 8.98, *miror audere atque religionem non tenere, statuas deorum, exempla earum facierum, signa domi pro supellectile statuere*; *ORF* 8.185, *dicere possum, quibus uillae atque aedes aedificatae atque expolitae maximo opere citro atque ebore atque pauimentis Poenicis sient*. Fr. 8.98, from a speech entitled *uti praeda in publicum referatur*, referred to Nobilior’s excessive private display of Greek statuary from the booty of his Aetolia campaign: Rüpke (2006) 489. On further Hellenizing tendencies of elite Roman youths see the discussion of anecdotes from the late third century in Gruen (1984) 255. A later example of the same tendency is the shipping of Perseus’ library to Rome by Aemilius Paullus for his private collection in 168: Plutarch *Aem.* 28.11, Polybius 31.23.

new accessories were visible among booty.⁸⁰ Livy lists bronze couches and tables with one pedestal and sideboards among the *luxuriae peregrinae* introduced to Rome on Manlius Vulso's return from Asia in 187.⁸¹ According to Livy, professional performances also became a feature of elite banquets at this time.⁸² Sciarrino's estimation of *conuiuia* as 'sites in which the elite contended with each other by showing off the latest novelty coming from Greece or introduced to Rome by professionals' leaves open the possibility for a wider interpretation of the contested cultural materials.⁸³ While the passage in Livy evokes the presence of *psaltria* and *sambucistriae*, female players of stringed instruments and the harp, a fragment from Cato the Elder's *Carmen de moribus* criticising the presence of poets in *conuiuia* suggests that the *conuiuium* also offered a context for professional poetic performances:

poeticae artis honos non erat. Si quis in ea re studebat aut sese ad conuiuia adplicabat grassator uocabatur. (Gellius 11.2.5 = Cato *Carmen de moribus* 2)⁸⁴

⁸⁰ On the hellenization of banquets in this era see Krostenko (2001) 24-6; Dunbabin (2003) 11-14, 24-5. For a general treatment of Roman banquets see *BNP* 2, coll.494-5 s.v. Banquet (G. Binder); Dunbabin (2003).

⁸¹ Livy. (39.6.7-9); Krostenko (2001) 24. Livy (39.6.9) goes on to discuss the increased value placed on cooks and the elevation of cooking to an *ars*. I will return to changes in elite banqueting and the socio-cultural implications below, pp. 48-53. See also Livy 37.57.14 on gold and silver tableware among M. Acilius Glabrio's booty: *is [sc. Cato] testis, quae uasa aurea atque argentea castris captis inter aliam praedam regiam uidisset, ea se in triumpho negabat uidisse*. On Manlius Vulso's triumph: Gruen (1990) 70, 132, 135-6; Gruen (1992) 106-7.

⁸² Livy 39.6.8, *tunc psaltria sambucistriaeque et conuiualia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis; epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu maiore apparari coeptae*. Krostenko (2001) 24-5 notes the Greek borrowings into Latin: *monopodia* = μονοπόδια, *abaci* = ἄβακες, *psaltria* = ψάλτριά, *sambucistriae* = σαμβυκίστριά. On the possibility of musical performance in orientalising and archaic banquets see Small (1971). On the disparity between literary and archaeological evidence regarding the evolution of elite banqueting practices see Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003) 9-15.

⁸³ Sciarrino (2004b) 327.

⁸⁴ On this fragment, see especially Zorzetti (1990) 294-5; Habinek (1998) 38; Sciarrino (2004a) 48-50; Sciarrino (2004b) 333; Sciarrino (forthcoming). Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.3, *sero igitur a nostris poetae uel cogniti uel recepti. quamquam est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere conuiuas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum uirtutibus, honorem tamen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis, in qua obiecit ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in prouinciam poetas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Aetoliam, ut scimus, Ennium*. See further Sciarrino (2004b) 332; Sciarrino (2006) 465-7; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On the association of *grassator* with the street and position as outsider see Festus 86L, with discussion in Sciarrino (2004a) 49; Sciarrino (2004b) 333-4. On *grassator* as a criticism of composing poetry for profit see Habinek (1998) 38; Sciarrino (2004a) 49; Sciarrino (2004b) 333.

Cato's condemnation further implies that both poetry, as a novel cultural material, and the presence of *poetae*, can be interpreted as significant elements of competitive convivial display.⁸⁵ Indeed, in the preceding fragment of the *Carmen*, Cato criticises elite expenditure on specialised cooks.⁸⁶ The framework elaborated by Sciarrino envisages the same elite who had commissioned poetic translations for public festivals increasingly striving to sponsor poetic performances in their own homes:

individual members of the upper class recruited these professional figures in order to put them on display during their banquets. While reclining on their couches and sharing food with their guests they watched and listened to these professionals who sang Greek poetry or recited from their own texts.⁸⁷

Members of the elite also began to engage in their own imitations of poetic practices.⁸⁸ A further fragment of Cato has been interpreted as a criticism of the new elite practice of reciting Greek poetry at banquets:

praeterea cantat, ubi collibuit, interdum Graecos uersus agit, iocos dicit, uoces demutat, staticulos dat. (Cato ORF 8.115)⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Sciarrino (2006) 463 notes that in the *Annales*, Ennius describes his 'poetic craft' as *poemata* (Ann. 12-13 Sk.). According to Sciarrino, this 'encouraged his audience to conceive of his poetry as a self-standing (i.e. written) object of verbal design capable of speaking by itself.' See also Skutsch (1985) 168. *Poema* is first found in Plautus (*Asinaria* 174): *neque fictum usquamst neque pictum neque scriptum in poematis*. On elite competition over cultural commodities, including poetry, see Sciarrino (2004a) 51 and *passim*; Sciarrino (2004b) 327, 354 and *passim*. Cf. Gildenhard (2003) 112: 'For some observers (such as Cato the Elder), the patronizing of poets (such as Ennius) and the pursuit of literary interest on the part of Roman aristocrats was a novel, exclusive practice that entailed new possibilities of distinction and investment of financial resources. As such it aided in the differentiation of Rome's upper-classes.' While Gildenhard regards it as 'ironic' that 'this process of differentiation coincided with the importation of literary genres from Greece', the significance of poetry as an imported commodity is central to Sciarrino's and to my approach.

⁸⁶ Gell. 11.2.5 = fr. 2 Jordan = Cugusi and Sblendorio Cugusi 444: *Vestiri in foro honeste mos erat, domi quod satis erat. Equos carius quam coquos emebant*. As Sciarrino (forthcoming) emphasises, the *Carmen de moribus* was part of Cato's broader intervention in the contemporary debate on the allocation of recently acquired cultural materials and conspicuous consumption. Compare also the oratorical fragment which preserves criticism of Lepidus for erecting a statue to two Greek cooks: ORF 96: *Catonem quoque in oratione aduersus Lepidum uerbum cantari solitum commemorasse, cum ait statuas positas Ochae atque Dionysodoro effeminatis, qui magiras facerent*.

⁸⁷ Sciarrino (2004b) 327. See also Krostenko (2001) 25-7; Sciarrino (2004b) 354.

⁸⁸ Sciarrino (2004b) 327. Full discussion in Sciarrino (forthcoming). Cf. also Sciarrino (forthcoming) for an analysis of Roman elite imitations of foreign cultural traditions in Livy's account of the inception of the dramatic tradition.

⁸⁹ See Krostenko (2001) 25-6, 29-31. For further discussion of Cato's responses to elite imitations of poetic performances see Sciarrino (2004b) 339-40 and *passim*.

Such ‘verbal diversions’ have been likened to the ἀκροάματα of Hellenic *symposia*.⁹⁰ Indeed, Sciarrino has recently raised the possibility that, for Polybius, ἀκροάματα, evoked in his criticism of the Hellenizing habits of Roman youth, encompassed convivial performances of epic poetry.⁹¹

The question of poetic performance in the *conuiuium* is disputed.⁹² However, if, as seems likely from the arguments of Rüpke and Sciarrino, elite *conuiuia* did provide a place for poetic performances by professionals in the late third and early second centuries, the *conuiuium* also offers a likely performance context for Ennius’ *Hedyphagetica* translation. As Sciarrino has pointed out, Cato’s criticism in the *Carmen de moribus* reveals the upward movement of poets into ‘more exclusive social occasions’.⁹³ Her exploration of the *conuiuium* as a performance context for early experiments in non-dramatic poetry builds on the work of Rüpke.⁹⁴ With a focus on the epic tradition, the fragmentarily preserved texts of Livius Andronicus’ *Odussia*, Naevius’ *Bellum Poenicum* and Ennius’ *Annales*, Rüpke identifies three considerations which support Cato’s testimony. First, the banquet context permitted professional poets to draw on the tradition of pre-poetic convivial song, the so-called

⁹⁰ Krostenko (2001) 25. Defined in *LSJ* as ‘anything heard, esp. with pleasure, piece read, recited, played or sung’. Cf. the plural for concrete meaning: ‘lecturers, singers or players, esp. during meals.’ Cf. Cameron (1995) 71-103 on poetry in Hellenistic symposia and below, pp. 36-7.

⁹¹ Polybius 31.25.4: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐρωμένους τῶν νέων, οἱ δ’ εἰς ἐταίρας ἐξέκχυντο, πολλοὶ δ’ εἰς ἀκροάματα καὶ πότους καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις πολυτέλειαν, ταχέως ἥρπακότες ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὐχέρειαν; see Sciarrino (forthcoming). The history of *acroama*, *-atis* in Latin lends oblique support to Sciarrino’s position. In Latin *acroama* describes ‘an item in an entertainment, act, ‘turn’. Cicero extends the Greek usage to describe an entertainer in a convivial context; at *Ver.* 4.49 he compares Verres to an *acroama*, in the sense of a performer, stealing from his host during a banquet: *Hic tamquam festiuium acroama, ne sine corollario de conuiuio discederet, ibidem conuiuiis spectantibus emblemata euellenda curauit*; cf. *Sest.* 54.116, where *acroama* refers to a ‘professional’ entertainer in public *ludi*.

⁹² See the recent discussion of the scholarship in Rossi and Breed (2006) 418-24.

⁹³ Sciarrino (2004a) 50. Habinek (1998) 38 and Sciarrino (2004a) 50 have both emphasised that Cato’s criticism can be most cogently interpreted as responding to a real situation. For a full discussion of Cato’s response to this situation see Sciarrino (2004b).

⁹⁴ Rüpke (2000); Rüpke (2001). Both approaches respond to Zorzetti’s (1990) call for reconsideration of the Roman prehistory of Roman literature, also addressed by Habinek (1998); Habinek (2005a).

carmina conuiuialia, both in form and content.⁹⁵ Second, the frequency and detail of allusions to convivial spaces within the texts of Naevius and Ennius contributes to the plausibility of the proposed convivial performance setting.⁹⁶ Third, the structure of the texts suggests suitability for recitation.⁹⁷ Expanding on Rüpke's evidence and drawing on insights from performance studies and anthropology, Sciarrino has constructed a compelling argument for locating the initial performances of Roman epic in a convivial space.⁹⁸ Her approach advances our understanding of the socio-cultural effects of early poetic explorations by bringing into consideration the performative aspect of these texts.⁹⁹ Sciarrino demonstrates the importance of acknowledging that all poetic texts 'acquired cultural relevance through acts of performance'.¹⁰⁰ By engaging with the questions of audience and performance context often occluded by other interpretive approaches, she comes closer to restoring the texts to their original socio-cultural purview.¹⁰¹

Drawing an analogy with the amalgamative formation of the Roman dramatic tradition, Sciarrino has proposed that poetic experimentations in the epic genre reflected poets' awareness that the elite *conuiuium* had long been a site for the

⁹⁵ Rüpke (2000) 44; Habinek (2001) 49-50. Sciarrino (2006) expands on this. Cf. Zorzetti (1990) 299-305, who sees no continuity between convivial song and epic. On the pre-poetic tradition of convivial song see below, pp. 22-4.

⁹⁶ Rüpke (2000) 45; Rüpke (2001) 50-2. For instance, in Naevius, there is language evoking the *conuiuium* at the meeting of Dido and Aeneas: *pulcraque <uasa> ex auro uestemque citrosam / ... / blande et docte percontat, Aenea quo pacto / Troiam urbem liquerit* (Naev. *carm. fr.* 22-3 Strzelecki); in Ennius see especially *Ann.* 268-86 Sk., the 'Good Companion' scene. Rüpke (2001) acknowledges that while the prominence of allusions to banquets is not a conclusive argument for the *conuiuium* as performance context, the frequency of such allusions makes it a more plausible one. As Rüpke points out, the translated nature of Livius Andronicus' *Odussia* entails less freedom to make such allusions.

⁹⁷ Rüpke (2000) 45; Rüpke (2001) 52-3. Rüpke also notes that sound devices such as alliteration only receive full effect in recitation.

⁹⁸ Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2004b); Sciarrino (2006); Sciarrino (forthcoming).

⁹⁹ Sciarrino (2006) especially 452-3 and *passim*; Sciarrino (forthcoming). For a performance-based approach to Roman literary texts see also Gamel (1998) on Roman elegy; Sciarrino (2004b) for a performance-oriented interpretation of selected fragments of Cato the Elder. Both Sciarrino (2006) 454, (forthcoming) and Gamel (1998) 80-1 and *passim* emphasise the need to consider all poetic texts as scripts for performance. Sciarrino (forthcoming) notes that scholars have only recently begun to treat dramatic scripts as texts in this way. For a recent attempt to consider the performance element of dramatic texts see Goldberg (2005) 48.

¹⁰⁰ Sciarrino (2006) 454. Sciarrino further emphasises that 'the significance of these scripted translations was not linked to the fact that they were written; rather, they acquired value only to the extent that they sustained an encounter with an audience.'

¹⁰¹ Sciarrino (2006) 451-3 and *passim*; Sciarrino (forthcoming). See also Gamel (1998) 81.

production of culture in Rome.¹⁰² While poets composing for the stage had ready access to earlier popular performance traditions, convivial culture was marked as exclusive in nature and associated with the tradition of *carmen*.¹⁰³ In the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero draws on a description of ancestral convivial practices which he attributes to Cato's *Origines*.¹⁰⁴ In this account, the transmission of ancestral wisdom is accomplished through the singing of manly deeds and praises (*clarorum uirorum laudes atque uirtutes*) by *conuiuiae* in the socially exclusive space of the banquet or *conuiuium*.¹⁰⁵ As Sciarrino has emphasised, convivial song is depicted as central to the maintenance of elite group identity.¹⁰⁶ While evidence on pre-poetic convivial

¹⁰² Sciarrino (2004b) 327; Sciarrino (2006) 465-9. Plautine studies have securely established that poets working in the dramatic tradition drew on both Greek scripts and the local embodied repertoire of performance practices: apart from earlier works like Leo (1912) and Fraenkel (1922), we have more recently McCarthy (2001); Habinek (2005a) 35, 53; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹⁰³ On *carmen* and the pre-literary tradition see Zorzetti (1990); Zorzetti (1991); Habinek (1998) 36, 49; Habinek (2005) 1-57. For more recent evaluations of Zorzetti's thesis see Sciarrino (2004b) 330 n.17; Rossi and Breed (2006) 418-20, with a discussion of current scholarship on the question of *carmina conuiuialia*. On this debate see also Wiseman (1995) 129-31; R pke (2000) 35; R pke (2001); Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2004b); Sciarrino (2006); Sciarrino (forthcoming); cf. Goldberg (2005) 9-12; Goldberg (2006) 431-36, and the response in Sciarrino (2006) 466-7; Wiseman (2006). For a summary of the archaeological evidence see Wiseman (1995) 130; Habinek (2005a) 40-2; Sciarrino (2006) 466 n.44; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On possible reasons for Cicero's construction of an 'historical continuity between these songs and epic' see Sciarrino (2006) 467. Cf. also Ennius *Ann.* 207 Sk., *Vorsibus quos olim Fauni uatesque canebant*. On early dramatic traditions such as Fescennine verses and Atellan Farce see Conte (1994) 23-4, 36; McCarthy (2001). Although the farce tradition was native to Oscan Atella, it was established in Rome before Greek forms of drama. On the *origines scaenicae* see Zorzetti (1990) 295-6; Wiseman (1995) 129-44. On banqueting as an elite practice see Habinek (2005a) 34-44 and below.

¹⁰⁴ Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.3, *Est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere conuiuas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum uirtutibus*; 4.3, *Grauiissimus auctor in Originibus dixit Cato more apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum uirorum laudes atque uirtutes*. Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 75 = Cato *Orig.* 118 Peter, *Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis conuiuis de clarorum uirorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato*; Varro *de vita p. Romani* fr. 84 Riposati, *In conuiuiis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmina antiqua, in quibus laudes erant maiorum, et assa uoce et cum tibicine*.

¹⁰⁵ Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4.3. Habinek (2005a) 35-6 identifies these 'coconvivialists' with *sodales*. See Sciarrino (2004b) for the discursive strategies underlying Cato's construction of ancestral convivial practices.

¹⁰⁶ At banquets, these men 'measured new enterprises against previous ones, bestowed praises on their authors in the form of songs, and nourished an exclusive repertoire of behavioural exempla transmitted in embodied form': Sciarrino (2006) 467; Sciarrino (forthcoming), whence the quotation. See also Zorzetti (1990) 292-3; Wiseman (1995) 130; Habinek (2005a) 36-44, whose focus is on the constitution of relationships of *sodalitas*. Cf. Habinek (1998) 45-50 for a discussion of Cato's use of *existimatio* and the possible connection between aristocratic *existimatio* and the kind of 'symptotic setting' praised by Cato in his evocation of the *carmina conuiuialia*. For the comparison with *skolia* see Zorzetti (1990) 298-9; Habinek

practices remains the subject of scholarly dispute, Sciarrino has demonstrated that the convivial practices set out in Cato's 'ancestral paradigm' comprise formulaic elements and present a pattern often repeated in Roman cultural memory.¹⁰⁷ For Sciarrino, Cato's criticism of poetic encroachments into elite social spaces points to the existence of a competing paradigm whereby foreign professional poets performed from their scripted texts inside the elite *convivium*.¹⁰⁸ The diverse strategies with which the poets positioned themselves in relation to the pre-poetic tradition remain visible in their epic scripts.¹⁰⁹ Such non-elite performances were construed by Cato as threatening to the ancestral practices traditionally responsible for the regulation of 'intra-elite distribution of prestige', practices previously unmediated by texts.¹¹⁰ The 'invention' of Roman epic therefore represented a professional intervention in evaluative rituals essential to maintaining the exclusivity of the convivial company.¹¹¹

(2005a) 39. Zorzetti (1990) 298-301 envisages the existence of an 'anonymous oral tradition of a convivial character' associated with the in-group rituals of gentilician *sodalitates* and with a performative function in the transmission of culture within those groups. He interprets this as part of a culture of 'convivial lyricism' influenced by 'Greek sympotic wisdom' and considers the 'new age of the *carmina*' as 'a reaction against a preceding age of epic, just as in Greece sympotic culture appears as a reaction against the epic culture represented by the rhapsodic tradition'.

¹⁰⁷ Sciarrino (forthcoming) uses the critical concept of the 'scenario', 'a paradigm for understanding social structures and behaviours' to do so (concept based on Taylor (2003) 29, whence the quotation). Sciarrino identifies these formulaic elements in, for instance, Livy's description of the banquet scene preceding the death of Lucretia (1.57.6), which reveals 'the link between banqueting and fighting, the exclusive character of the occasion, and the turn-taking rule that regulates the interaction': Sciarrino (forthcoming). According to Sciarrino (forthcoming), following Taylor, (2003) 29-33, 'because of its formulaic nature and adaptability, changes in the scenario make either visible or invisible the anxieties and stereotypes that loom large over a society at any given time.' This approach builds on Sciarrino's earlier work, which demonstrated the way in which fragments from the *Origines* provided 'a model against which to plot differences' between poetic practices and the pre-poetic tradition: Sciarrino (2004a) 48. On the 'scenario' as a critical tool, see Taylor (2003) 27-64, with a discussion of how performance studies can offer 'a way of rethinking the canon and critical methodologies', and Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁸ Sciarrino (2004a) 48-51; Sciarrino (2004b) 334 and *passim*; Sciarrino (2006) 465-9; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁹ Identified by, *inter alios*, Sciarrino, especially (2006). On Livius Andronicus: Sciarrino (2004a) 47; Sciarrino (2006) 453-9; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On Naevius: Sciarrino (2004a) 47, 51; Sciarrino (2006) 459-62; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On Ennius: Sciarrino (2004a) 47, 51; Sciarrino (2006) 462-9; Sciarrino (forthcoming). I will discuss the poets' strategies in relation to Ennius' *Hedyphagetica* translation below, pp. 42-4, 56-8.

¹¹⁰ By denying honour to poetry (Gell. 11.2.5 = Cato *Carmen de moribus* 2, cited above), Cato aims to restrict poets to contexts outside the banquet. On the way in which Cato differentiates between 'paradigms of performance' in relation to the social identity of the performers' see especially Sciarrino (2004b) 334.

¹¹¹ For earlier analyses of the contrast between elite ancestral wisdom and professional poetry see Zorzetti (1990) 294-5; Habinek (1998) 38. Zorzetti (1990) 294-5, 305 was the first to

At the same time, Cato's criticism of poetic incursions implicitly acknowledges the performative role of poets in mediating the transfer of Greek cultural knowledge in a way that could contribute to the social, political and cultural authority of the Roman elite.¹¹² According to Sciarrino, it was the power to confer 'individual and class distinction' that made private poetic performances so contested.¹¹³ Sciarrino's approach situates the debate on poetry within wider contemporary debates on the distribution of Rome's newly acquired material wealth, debates which elicited strongly opposing elite responses. Cato's criticism can be contrasted with the response of others, like Fulvius Nobilior, who explicitly capitalised on the new cultural materials put at their disposal by poets.¹¹⁴ Sciarrino's analysis points to the position of poets as a 'resource linked to conquest, bound up with an ongoing dispute over the control of conspicuous consumption', a connection left unacknowledged in discussions of the Greek origins of Roman literature.¹¹⁵

Central to Sciarrino's thesis is the recognition that poetic performances had social consequences for poets as well as their elite sponsors.¹¹⁶ Her conception of

identify epic as 'one of the fields of specialization of the Hellenistic *technitai*'. The approach to the 'invention' of Latin literature taken here builds on the interpretation of Habinek (1998), followed by Rüpke (2000); Krostenko (2001); Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2004b), esp. 326 n.8; Sciarrino (2006).

¹¹² Sciarrino (2006) 453-5 and *passim*; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹¹³ Quotation at Sciarrino (2004b) 354. See also Krostenko (2001) 26-7, 'The social elite assumed their own brand of sponsorships, hosting Greek artisans and literary figures, and putting on shows at their dinner parties. One could say that as *ludi* were to the state, so were *convivia* to the social elite'; Sciarrino (2004b) 327, 'professional shows and elite displays of new cultural materials during convivial occasions came to serve two significant functions, namely, the augmentation of individual prestige and the articulation of a new and distinct class of rulers.' Sciarrino builds on the analysis of Greek culture as symbolic capital in Habinek (1998) 61, 66-7. See also Rossi and Breed (2006) 420. The contested nature of Roman appropriations of Greek literature a major focus of Sciarrino's work.

¹¹⁴ Sciarrino (2004a) 50, 51, 55; Sciarrino (forthcoming). Sciarrino explores Cato's alternative model for the appropriation of Greek literary patrimony in depth; see especially Sciarrino (2004b); Sciarrino (forthcoming) and Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2006). See also the approaches of Gruen (1992) 52-63 and Habinek (1998) 46-9, 60-2. On Fulvius Nobilior see especially Sciarrino (2004a), with Gruen (1992) 107-10.

¹¹⁵ Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹¹⁶ In a broader consideration of 'performance culture' in Rome, Gamel (1998) 93 identifies the social effects of performance-based interactions: 'Performances both on- and off- stage were carefully prepared by performers and carefully scrutinized by audiences. They were not casual "entertainment" but significant interactions. And they were highly unstable, slippery occasions that allowed both actors and audiences to perform and perceive dangerous, officially unacceptable positions.' Cf. also McCarthy's (2001) 17-29 and *passim* approach to

poetry in the late third and early second century as ‘doubly “performative”’ draws attention to the simultaneous social effects of these poetic texts:

[poetry] was not only a cultural invention based on the reprocessing of cultural expressions belonging to non-Romans, it was also the means whereby its non-elite and alien inventors made a living in their new home.¹¹⁷

The same ‘transformational skills’ which made poetry and poets so valuable to the elite also created the opportunity for the social advancement of their practitioners.¹¹⁸

This focus on poetic agency has significant consequences for our understanding of Ennius’ *Hedyphagetica* translation. While drama, as the approved, institutionalised context for their cultural relocations, did enable poets to earn a living, analyses of Plautus’ scripts have shown that, although their authors could claim some creative control through the act of translating, dramatic compositions ultimately preserved the existing power relation between poets and elite.¹¹⁹ As we saw above, Sciarrino has argued that professional poets began to experiment with compositions in the epic genre as a means to improve their own social position as they recognised the shift

the social effects of comedy, although McCarthy focuses primarily on the ideological value of comedy for the elite.

¹¹⁷ Sciarrino (2006) 452. Sciarrino offers a nuanced analysis of this interpretation with regard to epic ([2006], [forthcoming]) and the comic poets (forthcoming). On poets using their skills ‘for further social promotion’ see the ancient testimonies on the emancipation of poets cited by Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹¹⁸ Sciarrino (2004a) 50, 55; Sciarrino (2006) 452 (whence the quotation); Sciarrino (forthcoming). On drama as a form of ‘self-commodification’ see Plautus’ *Pseudolus* 401-5, 562-70, with Sciarrino (forthcoming). Sciarrino (forthcoming) has argued that it was these early poets who were ‘responsible for changing the rules of Roman engagements with Greek culture by making Greek literary texts a resource worth fighting about’. She raises the interesting point that while the study of the relationship between early Latin drama and its Greek precedents has allowed us to consider the Latin ‘translations’ as a genre worth being studied in its own right, modern scholars are ultimately in a position of dependence on poets for access to the ‘originals’ similar to that of the original audience. As Sciarrino (forthcoming) notes, the Roman elite were ultimately able to overcome this ‘both by obtaining the ‘originals’ themselves and acquiring the transformational skills of the poets’. On cultural fascination see, following Lott (1995), McCarthy (2001) 17-34; Sciarrino (2006) 457, 459; Sciarrino (forthcoming) and below, pp. 41-2.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Plautus, *Pseudolus* 544-6, *Aut si de istac re umquam inter nos conuenimus / quasi in libro quom scribuntur calamo litterae / stilis me tum usque ulmeis conscribito*, cited in Sciarrino (forthcoming). See also Fitzgerald (2000); McCarthy (2001). On the identification of poet with *seruus callidus*, and the relationship of the poet to Rome’s rulers see Sciarrino (forthcoming), building on Fitzgerald (2000): the figure of the clever slave ‘signified the creative skills of the poets and the dominating impulses of the rulers at the same time’. See also Sciarrino (forthcoming): ‘Thanks to the prowess of Rome’s rulers Greek drama is something that can be enjoyed by those who reside in Rome, but it is thanks to the poet that this alien cultural form is transformed into an energizing component of civic ritual.’

towards a more socially exclusive performance setting such poetry would entail.¹²⁰ These poets identified and capitalised on the elite interest in ‘representations of military prowess’ traditionally centred on the *convivium*.¹²¹ Livius Andronicus’ *Odussia* translation set a precedent for poetic encroachments on elite gatherings through his decision to draw on a script suited for solo performance and to replace the Homeric hexameter with the Saturnian cola associated with aristocratic song.¹²² I will return to the broader significance of poetic translations for the Roman elite; however it is the attempts by poets to negotiate a role in the more restricted context of the *convivium* and the exploration of further poetic genres that I wish first to draw to attention.¹²³

As recent assessments of the *Annales* have shown, Ennius too sought to increase his social authority in Rome and placed emphasis on the status he acquired as *ciuis*.¹²⁴ Indeed through Horatian intertext, Hardie has raised the possibility that

¹²⁰ Sciarrino (2006) 454: ‘From a performance perspective, the social configuration of the audience, the place where these scripts were performed, and the number of performers involved distinguished drama from epic.’ See also Sciarrino (2004a) 55; Sciarrino (forthcoming); Rüpke (2006) 511. Cf. also Gildenhard (2003) 109: ‘In any stratified society, access to members of the ruling elite constitutes the golden road to social advancement.’

¹²¹ Quotation at Sciarrino (2004a) 55. On the significance of the battle as a site for elite interaction see Cato’s criticism of Fulvius Nobilior for taking Ennius on campaign (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.3), as discussed in Sciarrino (2004a) 48; Sciarrino (2004b) 332-4; Sciarrino (forthcoming) and below, n.207.

¹²² Sciarrino (2006) 453-9, especially 458; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On Livius’ translation perceived as a turning point: Sciarrino (2006) 458. On the link between Livius’ use of *uersutus* and Plautus’ *Pseudolus* see Sciarrino (2006) 453, 457; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹²³ On the intense exploration of cultural forms other than drama see especially Sciarrino (2006) 453; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹²⁴ For a recent synthesis of Ennius’ life and works see Rossi & Breed (2006), especially 400-2. On Ennius’ desire to increase his social authority in general: Gildenhard (2003) 93, 109; Sciarrino (2004a) 50, 55; Sciarrino (2006) 462-5; Sciarrino (forthcoming). On Ennius’ position as a foreigner: *Op. inc.* 1 Sk., *tria corda / Graece ... Osce ... Latine*, which possibly belongs to the *Satires*, Skutsch (1985) 749. See also *Ann.* 524 Sk.; Silius 12.393ff.; Serv. *Aen.* 7.691 on his claim to be descended from Messapus, with Skutsch (1985) 676. On this evidence Jocelyn (1972) 991 concludes: ‘He came from a family with high social pretensions’. On Ennius’ status as *ciuis*: Cic. *Archia* 22 (although Skutsch (1985) 677 questions Cicero’s dating); Gildenhard (2003) 107; Sciarrino (forthcoming). Cf. also *Ann.* 525 Sk., *nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante Rudini*. On this fragment, Skutsch (1985) 676-7 comments: ‘<this is> an expression of pride in the poet’s Roman citizenship, which *prima facie* would seem to belong to an autobiographical context.’ See also recent assessments of Ennius’ self-presentation in the *Annales* like that by Gildenhard (2003) 113: ‘The authority he ascribes to himself in his poetological passages is purely and deliberately *literary*. His boastful assertion of artistic supremacy inversely corresponds to his abrogation of socio-

Ennius' claim to a 'figurative triumph of poetry' may have concealed an anxiety that he 'might be viewed as part of the spoils of the expanding Roman war-machine', as he was later portrayed by Nepos:¹²⁵

*praetor prouinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat: quod non minoris existimamus quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum. (Cato 1.4)*¹²⁶

Ennius appears to have been the first poet to experiment with genres other than drama and epic.¹²⁷ Some time ago, Gruen noted that the concentration on Ennius' connection with public figures has long obscured the considerable volume of his output unrelated to politics, including the *Hedyphagetica* and *Saturae*.¹²⁸ In recent years, the diversity of Ennian production has raised some comment. Rüpke has drawn attention to the fact that such variety was not reached again until the Augustan era, and Suerbaum evokes the ancient testimony of Cornelius Fronto, who gave Ennius the epithet *multiformis*.¹²⁹ It is my contention that the *Hedyphagetica* translation is an early product of Ennius' experimentation, and, considered in relation to the *Annales*, represents an earlier or alternative attempt to increase his status by producing poetic translations suited to performance in the more restricted context of the elite

political pretensions'. Gildenhard contrasts this with Roman elite authors of *Annales* who enacted their claim to socio-political *auctoritas* in and through their compositions. Sciarrino (2006) and (forthcoming) situates Ennius' approach to epic in contrast with earlier epicists' strategies. Hardie (2007) explores Gildenhard's approach by proposing Ennian models for Horace's descriptions of his own relation to the great men of Rome.

¹²⁵ Hardie (2007) 139, 144; Gowers (2007) xi. See Horace *Odes* 3.29, 3.30, discussed in Hardie (2007) 139-40.

¹²⁶ Emphasis Hardie (2007) 144. On this passage see also Gruen (1990) 107; Sciarrino (2006) 468.

¹²⁷ Cf. Massaro (2001) on the first hexameter fragment, an epitaph for the mime Protogenes.

¹²⁸ Gruen (1990) 120.

¹²⁹ Rüpke (2000) 31: 'Die Vielfalt der Gattungen der Ennianischen Literaturproduktion wird erst wieder in spätrepublikanisch-augusteischer Zeit erreicht.' Suerbaum (2002) 124-5, 137: Fronto, p. 133, 11ff. v.d.H., *In poetis autem quis ignorat, ut gracilis sit Lucilius, Albucius aridus, sublimis Lucretius, mediocris Pacuvius, inequalis Accius, Ennius multiformis? Historiam quoque scripsere Sallustius struchte, Pictor incondite*. Suerbaum also comments on the experimental nature of Ennius' *opera minora*. See also Rüpke (2001) for a discussion of experimental character of Ennius' poetic production with particular reference to epic: *Das geschieht, indem griechische Epen und das Modell der Großdichtung in die Form des Bankettvortrags <umkodiert> werden. Diese Rekodierung trägt experimentellen Charakter [...] Das Ergebnis ist etwas Neues, und je mehr es sich dem Homerischen Muster annähert – Hexameter, hohe Buchzahlen –, desto mehr unterliegt es einem Wandel des sozialen Ortes und der Funktion*. See most recently Rossi and Breed (2006) 402; Gowers (2007) xi, who refers to the poet's 'stupendously prolific literary output'.

conuiuium.¹³⁰ The scope and nature of the *Annales* permitted Ennius to address the traditional concern of convivial discourse, the elite celebration of military success. Though centred upon a somewhat less lofty convivial theme, the *Hedyphagetica* seems suited to performance in the kind of Hellenized *conuiuium* which its verses evoke.

¹³⁰ Although recent research has shown that the *Hedyphagetica* need not be regarded as preceding the *Annales* on metrical grounds, scholarly consensus continues to favour an earlier date of composition for the poem. On the question of dating see below, pp. 61-2. Rüpke (1998) 193; Rüpke (2000) 47; Rüpke (2001) 59 envisages the *conuiuium* as a possible performance context.

2. Fitting the *Hedyphagetica* into the Elite *Conuiuium*

In what follows, I build on recent scholarly perspectives to see if they can be usefully applied to our understanding of the *Hedyphagetica* as a poem suited to a convivial setting and to elucidate the possible socio-cultural effects of the *Hedyphagetica* translation. Consideration of the poem Ennius chose to translate provides a frame of reference for our interpretation of the *Hedyphagetica* in a convivial setting.

a) The Hellenistic precedent: A sympotic setting for Arcestratus' *Hedupatheia*?

Arcestratus of Gela's *Hedupatheia*, or *Life of Luxury*, was composed some time in the first two-thirds of the fourth century B.C.E and has been fragmentarily preserved in Athenaeus of Naucratis' *Deipnosophists*.¹³¹ As an hexameter poem, it shares, as we shall see, generic affiliations with contemporary epic parody, but the *Hedupatheia* is better understood with reference to the prose texts associated with the Sicilian culinary tradition and fourth-century 'gastronomic catalogue poetry'.¹³² Arcestratus' poem programmatically states his intention to present the results of his research on where to procure the best food and drink in the Mediterranean (frr. 1-3).¹³³ It proceeds in catalogue form, discussing foods according to the order in which they were typically served at a banquet, with a particular interest in the 'luxury food *par*

¹³¹ Olson and Sens (2000) xxi-ii. The *terminus post quem* for the poem is 396 BCE, the *terminus ante quem* c. 340 BCE. On the title see Olson and Sens (2000) xxii-iv. The *Deipnosophists*, composed c. 200 CE, is the source of all the *Hedupatheia* fragments; see Olson and Sens (2000) xix-xx, lxvii. Approximately 330 verses are preserved, and the poem is unlikely to have been longer than c. 1200 lines; see Olson and Sens (2000) xxiv. It is clear from the fragments preserved by Athenaeus that Ennius' *Hedyphagetica* is a translation of the *Hedupatheia*; see Olson and Sens (2000) xix.

¹³² Olson and Sens (2000) xxxv-vi. *Contra* Wilkins and Hill (1994) 13; Wilkins (2000a) 354-5, who interpret the poem as epic parody. For a detailed description of Arcestratus' hexameter see Olson and Sens (2000) lxi-vii, who also (pp. xxviii-xliii) provide a thorough discussion of the poem's genre and literary background. Olson and Sens (2000) xxxix trace the tradition of 'gastronomically oriented poetry' to Hesiod's *Works and Days* 588-94.

¹³³ Olson and Sens (2000) xxiv-v, liii-iv and *ad loc.* Cf. Ath. 7. 278d-e. On the suggestion that frr. 1-3 deliberately recall the proem of Herodotus' *Histories* and its geographic perspective see Olson and Sens (2000) xxix-xxx and *ad loc.* See also Bettini (1979) 58-60.

excellence', fish (fr. 10-56).¹³⁴ The poet's recommendations concern both the place of purchase and instructions for cooking and serving the delicacy in question.¹³⁵ Although he makes occasional references to luxury imports, the geographical purview of the poem is almost exclusively Greek.¹³⁶

The *Hedupatheia* can be broadly related to the heightened interest for poetry centred on 'elaborate and amusing descriptions of elegant dinners' in the late classical period, associated with the increase in the disposable income of the middle and upper classes in this era.¹³⁷ This interest is reflected in the prominent catalogues of banquet dishes which appear in Middle Comedy (e.g. *Antiphanes* fr. 191 *PCG* = *Athenaeus* 7.295c-d); the humorous dactylo-epitrite *Dinner Party* by Philoxenus of Leucas (fr. 836 *Page*); and epic parodies such as *Matro of Pitane's Attic Dinner Party* (*SH* 534) and Hegemon of Thasos' 'description of a dinner' (*Athenaeus* 1.5a-b).¹³⁸ The *Hedupatheia's* closest literary parallel is the hexameter cookbook cited in *Plato Comicus's Phaon* (fr. 189 *PCG*) and attributed to an unidentified Philoxenus. Despite the lexical resemblances and similarities in subject matter, Philoxenus' poem does not appear to share *Archestratus's* interest in the provenance or relative superiority of particular species of fish.¹³⁹ Indeed, the *Hedupatheia* differs notably in aim and effect

¹³⁴ Olson and Sens (2000) xxiv-vi. Olson and Sens (2000) xxv divide the fragments as following: fr. 1-4 proem; 5-6 cereals; 7-9 appetizers and cold side-dishes; 10-56 fish and seafood; 57-60 symposium. The extant fragments are generally considered a representative sample of *Archestratus's* text; see Olson and Sens (2000) xxv. On the association of fish with luxury, see below, n.220.

¹³⁵ Olson and Sens (2000) xxv-vi.

¹³⁶ Phoenicia and Syria are referred to as 'sources of luxury imports' (fr. 6; 59.5-14; 60.4-5); see Olson and Sens (2000) xvii and *ad loc.*

¹³⁷ Olson and Sens (2000) xxxix and liv-v.

¹³⁸ Olson and Sens (2000) xxxix-xl. On the prominence of food in Middle Comedy see especially Wilkins (2000a), with Davidson (1993); Davidson (1995); Gilula (1995); Dalby (1996) 121-4. On the precedent for these themes in Old Comedy see Wilkins (2000b); Fisher (2000). For a discussion of fragments of Middle and New Comedy which recall recipes from *Archestratus* see Degani (1990); Wilkins (2000a) 360-6. See Wilkins (2000a) 369-414 for a discussion of the comic cook. On Philoxenus see Wilkins (2000a) 350-4. On *Matro* and *Hegemon* see also Degani (1995) Olson and Sens (2000) xxv, xxxii-v; Wilkins (2000a) 359-61. Compare especially *Matro's* 'Catalogue of Fish'. Olson and Sens (2000) xxxv note that although the *Hedupatheia* only occasionally depends on specific allusions to *Homer* or *Hesiod*, the disparity between epic form and culinary content must have created a humorous effect. On the comic potential of the *Hedupatheia* see Wilkins (2000a) 357-9.

¹³⁹ Olson and Sens (2000) xl-iii. For a detailed discussion of the correspondences between the texts see Olson and Sens (2000) xlii. For an assessment of the debate on the identity of Philoxenus see Olson and Sens (2000) xlii-iii, who describe the verses as an example of 'a

from both culinary treatises and gastronomic poetry composed for performance in the civic sphere.¹⁴⁰ The presence of internal addresses, the literary evidence for the external audience and the culinary ideology implicit in the poem suggest that the *Hedupatheia* was suited to performance in a private setting.¹⁴¹

Although Archestratus' ostensible aim is to impart his culinary precepts to all of Greece (fr. 1), the *Hedupatheia* was, according to Athenaeus (7.278e), specifically addressed to two of the narrator's friends or companions, Moschus and Cleandrus. As Olson and Sens point out, both *hetairoi* are apostrophized by name in our fragments, along with a reference to a further *hetairos*, Agathon of Lesbos.¹⁴² By directing his advice to 'a restricted set of internal addressees', Archestratus creates the impression of 'an intimate and exclusive gathering', to which the wider audience of the poem has gained access.¹⁴³ Indeed the identified addressees correspond with Archestratus' ideal number of banquet guests:¹⁴⁴

πρὸς δὲ μιῇ πάντας δειπνεῖν ἀβρόδοιτι τραπέζῃ·
ἔστωσαν δ' ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυνάπαντες
ἢ τῶν πέντε γε μὴ πλείους· ἥδη γὰρ ἂν εἴη
μισθοφόρων ἀρπαξιβίων σκηνὴ στρατιωτῶν. (fr. 4)

small subgenre of gastronomically oriented dactylic hexameter catalogue poetry'. While it is possible that Philoxenus' cookbook served as a literary model for Archestratus' poem, the *Hedupatheia* is not a simple versification of a prose cookbook, as Philoxenus' appears to have been. See the discussion in Olson and Sens (2000) xliii. On Hellenistic versifications of prose treatises, e.g. Aratus' *Phaenomena*, see Olson and Sens (2000) xxxix.

¹⁴⁰ On the agonistic public setting for the performance of epic parody see Degani (1995) 114-5; Olson and Sens (2000) xxxv.

¹⁴¹ Olson and Sens (2000) xxxv, xliii-vi, lv.

¹⁴² Frr. 5.2; 18.3; 36.4, with Olson and Sens (2000) xliii-iv, 17 and *ad loc.* For Agathon: fr. 7.9. An unnamed *hetairos* is also addressed in fr. 18.2.

¹⁴³ Olson and Sens (2000) xliii-iv. The use of the vocatives ἐταῖρε and φίλε reinforces this effect. According to Olson and Sens (2000) 149, the vocative with ὦ (fr. 36.4) 'may lend a sense of special intimacy or affection to the address'. Archestratus' strategy of address situates the *Hedupatheia* in the context of the didactic tradition; see Olson and Sens (2000) xliii.

¹⁴⁴ This fragment is likely to have closely preceded fr. 5, probably the first verses of the catalogue of food, beginning 'First of all, then, my dear Moschus'. Against Brandt (1888), Olson and Sens (2000) reposition fr. 7, in which Agathon is evoked, at the beginning of the catalogue of seafood. Their placement of the fragment raises the possibility of an informal literary exposition of the *hetairoi* making up the internal audience towards the beginning of the poem.

Everyone should dine at a single table for an elegant meal.
 Let the total company be three or four,
 or at any rate no more than five; for after that you would have
 a mess-group of rapacious mercenary soldiers.¹⁴⁵

Athenaeus (1.4d) introduces the poem in the context of other sympotic verses and proverbs.¹⁴⁶ The *Deipnosophists* also contains the testimonies of the early Hellenistic philosophers, Clearchus and Chrysippus, which suggest that passages from the *Hedupatheia* were quoted in *symposia* by Hellenistic dinner-guests.¹⁴⁷ According to Athenaeus (3.104b et 7.310a), Chrysippus described the *Hedupatheia* as ‘a lovely bit of epic poetry which all gluttonous philosophers claim as their particular Theognis’, a comparison which, as Olson and Sens suggest, alludes both to the ‘fundamentally sympotic and didactic’ nature of Arcestratus’ poem, and to the presence of named addressees.¹⁴⁸ It therefore seems probable that the *Hedupatheia* was composed ‘for performance at a small aristocratic drinking party’ as part of the post-prandial entertainment and that the poem circulated in such a context for many decades after its composition.¹⁴⁹ The poem’s culinary ideology, which consistently rejects ‘traditional civic commensality in favour of private, fundamentally secular dining’, is

¹⁴⁵ Translation: Olson and Sens (2000).

¹⁴⁶ Wilkins (2000a) 362. For instance, Charmus of Syracuse, who had ‘appropriate verses and proverbs ready for each dish served at his dinner parties’ (Athenaeus 1.4.a). Athenaeus (1.4.a-b) cites those related to fish.

¹⁴⁷ Clearchus fr. 63 Wehrli, ap. Ath. 10.457c-e = Test. 4: ‘For as they were drinking, they used to pose questions – not, however, like people today, who ask one another which sexual position, or which fish or which sort of fish brings the most pleasure or is most precisely in season, and then which one is particularly good eating after Arktouros rises or the Pleiades or the Dog-Star ... For these are, in fact, the characteristics of someone who has spent time with the treatises of Philainis and Arcestratos, and who has, moreover, devoted himself to the so-called ‘Gastrologies’; Chrysippus Treatise XXVIII fr. 5, 11 ap. Ath. 8.355b,d-6a = Test. 5: ‘But you, by making frequent mention of this Arcestratos, have filled our drinking-party with licentiousness’; see Olson and Sens (2000) xlv-v and *ad loc.* Some passages may even have achieved a proverbial status; see Lynceus ap. Ath. 7.313f-4a, on whom see below, n.150.

¹⁴⁸ Olson and Sens (2000) 9. See also Athenaeus 7.310a-b. On Theognis: Bowie (1986) 14-15.

¹⁴⁹ Olson and Sens (2000) xlv. See also Wilkins and Hill (1994) 11-13; Degani (1995) 421; Wilkins (2000a) 355, 361-3 on ‘sympotic presentation’. Dalby (1996) 121 suggests ‘recitation to an audience in the right mood’. Olson and Sens (2000) xlv also raise the possibility that due to its length it was intended for reading. However the *Hedupatheia* is characterised by ‘delight in verbal play’: see Olson and Sens (2000) lx. This stylistic playfulness would have been better appreciated in recitation. For a comparison with the sympotic context for elegiac and much lyric poetry, see Bowie (1986) especially 14-21; Murray (1990a) 9; Olson and Sens (2000) xlv.

similarly suited for the kind of wealthy, ‘select and discriminating’ upper-class audience which sympotic performance entails.¹⁵⁰

As we have seen, commensality is a strong assertion of collective identity.¹⁵¹ In the Greek context, both banquet and the following symposium were important in ‘reinforcing the social solidarity of the generally aristocratic individuals who made up the group’.¹⁵² Solidarity arose from participation in a shared meal and shared discourse.¹⁵³ The significance of the food itself played an important role in the expression of social identity. The *Hedupatheia* clearly attests to the luxury status of fish, a significant marker of social and economic difference.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the poem’s culinary ideology is best discerned in the poet’s recommendations for the simple

¹⁵⁰ Olson and Sens (2000) xlv-v, lv. According to Olson and Sens (2000) xlv, the figure of Lynceus of Samos, a ‘well-educated, widely-travelled, wealthy [...] confirmed *bon vivant*’ exemplifies the poem’s implied external audience. Lynceus took a ‘consistently positive’ attitude towards the *Hedupatheia* (ap. Ath. 7.285e-6a, 295a-b, 313f-4a).

¹⁵¹ See Ch. 1 n.12 above, with Schmitt Pantel (1985) 150-5; Olson and Sens (2000) xlviii on the Greek material.

¹⁵² Olson and Sens (2000) xlviii. See also Murray (1990a) 5, who defines commensality as ‘rituals of eating and drinking *together*, as equals and as an expression and reinforcement of community values’; see also Murray (1990b); Pellizer (1990) 178; Burton (1995) 23-34, especially 23; Stehle (1997) 213-27; Dunbabin (2003) 11-13.

¹⁵³ On sympotic discourse see Olson and Sens (2000) xlix: ‘As the meal and the drinking-party proceeded, the diners engaged (at least ideally) in highly stylized conversation and mutual entertainment, one of the purposes of which was to underline and affirm their common social background, intellectual training, and values, and thus their sense of their own individual and collective place in the world.’ Compare the anonymous Hellenistic elegy (*Adespota elegiaca* 27 West) cited by Stehle (1997) 217 depicting ‘harmony rising from exchange of banter and moralising speech’ in the ideal symposium.

¹⁵⁴ Olson and Sens (2000) xlix-li. On consumption of fish as a symbol of the social and material differences which divided the elite from the rest of the population’ see also Davidson (1993) 54 (whence the quotation); Purcell (1995) 141; Collin-Bouffier (2000) 197. As fish were exempt from sacrifice they could be consumed without the constraints of religious ritual, which, according to Davidson (1997) 12, 16, 147, entailed a kind of ‘competitive eating’; on this aspect see also Wilkins (1993); Wilkins (2000a) 293-304; Olson and Sens (2000) lii. On the *Hedupatheia* as a testament to the luxury status of fish see Wilkins (2000a) 302; Collin-Bouffier (2000) 198-9. The status of fish was also particularly visible in comedy; see especially Wilkins (2000a); Fisher (2000) 373; Olson and Sens (2000) l-lii. On the fish market as a site of elite competition and conspicuous consumption: Davidson (1993) 57; Gilula (1995) 391f; Wilkins (2000a) 294-6. Note however that small fish, the types avoided by Archestratus, were an accessible and integral part of the Athenian diet: Davidson (1993) 55-6; Wilkins (2000a) 299-301; cf. Archestratus fr. 11.1. On the social status of fishermen vs. consumers: Wilkins (1993) 195-7; Purcell (1995); Davidson (1997) 19-20. On fourth century southern Italian ‘fish plates’ as ‘produits de luxe, destinés à l’élite locale’ see Collin-Bouffier (2000) 200-1, who notes that the ‘iconographie piscicole’ favours especially fish species reserved for the elite.

preparation of seafood.¹⁵⁵ Although a native Sicilian, Arcestratus is critical of the lavish Sicilian culinary style, which had gained popularity in the Greek world with the spread of the prose cookbook and come to be associated with the aspirations of the increasingly wealthy middle classes.¹⁵⁶ Instead, the poet's approach to luxury seems intended to distinguish him from those who confuse 'indiscriminate lavishness' for good taste.¹⁵⁷ Olson and Sens have proposed that by consistently favouring simplicity, the *Hedupatheia*

expresses the contempt of a traditional elite for those who have gained access to commodities that once were the exclusive property of their social betters but who still allegedly fail to understand true elegance.¹⁵⁸

The most basic function of the poem is therefore 'to affirm the social and intellectual superiority of its intended readership', or those who aspire to it.¹⁵⁹ Arcestratus' evocation of ἄβροσύνη in the opening of his text may support this interpretation (fr. 4.1; 5.18 cf. fr. 6). Kurke has demonstrated that ἄβροσύνη referred to a luxurious lifestyle consciously adopted by Greek aristocrats as 'a form of differentiation and self-definition'.¹⁶⁰ She associates the sudden popularity of the term in archaic poetry with contemporary social changes that had caused a broader distribution of wealth

¹⁵⁵ Olson and Sens (2000) lii-iv. For Arcestratus' advocacy of luxury see fr. 3; 16.1-3; 35.3-4; 60.19-21, as well as the title. On simplicity of preparation see e.g. fr. 37.5-9, in which foods of excellent quality are said to contain 'the height of pleasure within themselves'. Arcestratus also favours simple symposium foods, at e.g. fr. 57. For a discussion of Arcestratus' recipes see Olson and Sens (2000) lii-iii, with Degani (1990) 55-8.

¹⁵⁶ Olson and Sens (2000) liv-v. On the adoption of the symposium by those outside the traditional aristocracy see also Schmitt Pantel (1985) 146, following Murray (1982, 1983); Dunbabin (2003) 11. Compare Goody (1982) 97-153 on the development of a 'high' cuisine as 'mark of an increasingly stratified society'. Fr. 46.10-14 explicitly criticises the Sicilian and culinary style. On Sicily and southern Italy as proverbial for luxury see e.g. Aristophanes' *Banqueters* fr. 225.2, with Olson and Sens (2000) xxxvi; Collin-Bouffier (2000). The Sicilian culinary style was disseminated throughout the Greek world in the first half of the fourth century, a process related to the emergence of the prose cookbook; see Olson and Sens xxxvi-ix. On the emphasis on food in the Sicilian culinary tradition see e.g. the comic fragments of Epicharmus (fr. 35; 42-74; 84 Kaibel) and below.

¹⁵⁷ Olson and Sens (2000) liv.

¹⁵⁸ Olson and Sens (2000) lv.

¹⁵⁹ Olson and Sens (2000) xlvi.

¹⁶⁰ Kurke (1992) 93-8 quotation p. 93. ἄβρότης is learned from the East and is 'the result of contacts between East and West', see Kurke (1992) 93-4. Kurke's approach (1992) 91-2 aims to recontextualize the 'social, economic, and political dimensions of archaic poetry in its original performance context' and, in particular, to 'track the social function' of archaic poetry by restoring the 'social and political penumbra' to individual words.

and threatened ‘the power monopoly of the elite’.¹⁶¹ At this time, ‘style of expenditure’ became ‘all-important’ as *nouveaux riches* began to compete in traditional aristocratic arenas of competitive display.¹⁶² According to Kurke, ὀβροσύνη, or ὀβρότης, represents ‘a particular kind of private luxury’ which was the preserve of the archaic elite.¹⁶³ Given the social changes that inform the context of the *Hedupatheia*, it seems possible that Archestratus’ conscious use of ὀβρός, not part of the traditional epic vocabulary, reflects his desire to secure recognition as a member of the contemporary social elite.¹⁶⁴

Olson and Sens have suggested that Ennius’ decision to translate the *Hedupatheia* into Latin indicates both his own positive evaluation of the poem and also ‘his sense that an audience for it now existed in Italy, at a time when many members of Roman society were aggressively embracing Greek luxury’.¹⁶⁵ Ennius’ translation raises the possibility that the *Hedupatheia* continued to be recited in southern Italian symposia towards the end of the third century BCE.¹⁶⁶ Cameron has argued convincingly for the continuity of poetic performances in symposia into the third century, presenting a significant body of evidence that ‘both singing and discussing poetry continued to be normal practice at Hellenistic symposia’.¹⁶⁷ He

¹⁶¹ Kurke (1992) 94. Kurke (1992) 91-2 emphasises that ‘all poetry was composed for performance in this period and spoke to an audience, whether it was the closed aristocratic *hetaireia* or the broader public of choral lyric. Given the centrality of performance, we must assume that archaic poetry was deeply embroiled in the political, social, and economic issues of the day; that it was, indeed, a primary vehicle for the contest of paradigms characteristic of the archaic period.’

¹⁶² Kurke (1992) 94. On the ‘valorization of style as opposed to mere wealth’ see Thgn. 699-728, with Kurke (1992) 94.

¹⁶³ Kurke (1992) 96. The elements of private luxury identified by Kurke closely resemble the sympotic accessories recommended by Archestratus, fr. 59-60.

¹⁶⁴ ὀβρός etc. do not appear in Homer and only once in Hesiod in a fragment of doubtful authenticity, see Kurke (1992) 93. Kurke reads Sappho’s ‘I love *habrosune*’ (fr. 58.25 L-P) as ‘politically programmatic, [...] her way of endorsing a particular style of aristocratic luxury’.

¹⁶⁵ Olson and Sens (2000) xlv. See also Murray (1996) on the importance of *tryphe* in Hellenistic symposia.

¹⁶⁶ Compare Wilkins and Hill (1994) 11 on the possibility that it was ‘being read’ near Tarentum at the end of the third century. Wilkins and Hill (1994) 13 subsequently describe reading as ‘hearing’ in the ancient world and propose a sympotic context for the *Hedupatheia*.

¹⁶⁷ Cameron (1995) 71-103, especially 72: ‘... the basic form of the symposium remained remarkably constant down the centuries and throughout the Hellenistic world’. See also Murray (1996). While Cameron focuses on the third century, he extends his argument into the first century B.C.E, discussing material from a Roman context.

emphasises the importance of the epigram as ‘the new sympotic poetry’ in this era.¹⁶⁸ While epigram has traditionally been interpreted as ‘pure “book-poetry”’, Cameron argues that a published poetry book was ‘an extension of the poet’s performance [...] aimed at essentially the same audience and [arising] out of the same social circumstances’.¹⁶⁹ In his view, the symposium provided the ‘principal forum’ for epigram, a genre whose predominant themes often reflected the ‘central preoccupations’ of the symposium itself.¹⁷⁰ Of particular interest in this context are two ‘shopping poems’ by Asclepiades (25 and 26 Gow-Page), in which the poet gives instructions for the preparations for a dinner and symposium.¹⁷¹ Poem 25 envisages a dinner for five in which two varieties of seafood will be served, while in poem 26, Demetrius, perhaps a friend of the poet, is sent out to fetch both fish and a flute-girl for a party of six.¹⁷² If, as Cameron suggests, Asclepiades’ epigrams were composed for performance in a sympotic setting, these poems evince a continued interest in and revitalisation in a Hellenistic context of themes addressed by Archestratus.¹⁷³ We may conclude that the evidence strongly favours the view that Archestratus’ poem was originally performed at *symposia*.

Ennius’ *Hedyphagetica* translation reveals the continued relevance of the culinary themes transferred to a Roman convivial setting. However, as we have seen,

¹⁶⁸ Cameron (1995) 76. He also emphasises (p. 72) the ‘strong element of formal continuity with the sympotic elegy of the sixth century’.

¹⁶⁹ Cameron (1995) 76-8.

¹⁷⁰ Cameron (1995) 79-80.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Posidippus 10. Compare also the fragment from Antimachus’ *Deltoi* (fr. 74 = Ath. 300c), referring to the river Euleus, ‘where especially tasty eels were to be found’, and, according to Cameron, composed for performance in the symposium; see Cameron (1995) 87-8.

¹⁷² The purchase of silver perfume flasks commissioned in poem 25 recalls Archestratus fr. 60.4-5. Cameron (1995) 92 cites a first-hand account of a contemporaneous Macedonian symposium in which such flasks were given out to the guests. On garlands as appropriate sympotic garb see Archestratus fr. 60. Note that Archestratus nowhere addresses his orders to a slave. The use of imperatives in the *Hedupatheia* is linked to the tradition of didactic poetry. Archestratus’ use of imperatives is often hypothetical (e.g. fr. 26.1) and hyperbolic (e.g. fr. 16, 22). Asclepiades’ imperatives are injunctions which anticipate immediate action (e.g. 25.2).

¹⁷³ Krostenko (2001) 25 also evokes Cameron’s evidence for the ‘continued real presence of poetry’ at Hellenistic symposia. Cameron (1995) 84 notes that Gellius (*NA* 19.9.3-4) describes a symposium at which someone ‘sang Latin translations of epigrams by Meleager and Asclepiades.’

Latin translations of Greek literary texts acquired a new valency in their Roman context.¹⁷⁴ As Sciarrino has established with relation to drama and epic, these were:

on one level [...] cultural expressions translated by non-elite and non-Roman individuals based on the manipulation of the different linguistic codes and song traditions belonging to each of these codes. On another level, what the poets produced were scripts that acquired cultural relevance through acts of performance.¹⁷⁵

It is the strategies adopted by Ennius to make his *Hedyphagetica* translation socially and culturally relevant to which I now turn. As I suggest, the context in which Ennius performed from his translation was a convivial one. This approach should also further elucidate the ‘underlying relationship between military conquest and poetic translation’ articulated by Sciarrino.¹⁷⁶

b) Ennius’ *Hedyphagetica* translation : Transferring the *Hedupatheia* to Rome

Q. Ennius hedyphagetica [a] uorsibus scripsit; innumerabilia genera piscium enumerat, quae scilicet curiose cognorat. Paucos uorsus memini, eos dicam:

<i>omnibus ut Clipea praestat mustela marina,</i>	1
<i>mures sunt Aeni, aspra ostrea plurimi Abydi.</i>	
<i>Mytilenae est pecten Caradrumque apud Ambraciai.</i>	
<i>Brundisii sargus bonus est; hunc, magnus si erit, sume.</i>	
<i>apriculum piscem scito primum esse Tarenti.</i>	5
<i>Surrenti <tu> elopem fac emas, glaucumque apud Cumas.</i>	
<i>quid scarum praeterii cerebrum Iouis paene supremi</i>	
<i>(Nestoris ad patriam hic capitur magnusque bonusque),</i>	
<i>melanurum, turdum, merulamque umbramque marinam?</i>	
<i>polypus Corcyrae, caluaria pingua acarnae,</i>	10
<i>purpura, muriculi, mures, dulces quoque echini.</i>	

Alios etiam multis uorsibus decorauit, et ubi gentium quisque eorum, qualiter assus aut iurulentus optime sapiat. (SH 193, ap. Apul. Apol. 39.2 = Varia 34-44 Vahlen = Hedyphagetica 1-11 Warmington)¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Several recent studies have drawn attention to the need to interpret Latin translations as part of a Roman system. See for example McElduff (2004a); McElduff (2004b); Sciarrino (2006); Sciarrino (forthcoming); Rossi and Breed (2006).

¹⁷⁵ Sciarrino (2006) 454.

¹⁷⁶ Sciarrino (2006) 456 n.20; see also Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹⁷⁷ The most recent editions of the fragment are Lindsay (1922) 1-2; Vahlen (1963) 218-20; Warmington (1967) vol. 1; Courtney (1993) 22-5. I follow especially the text and *apparatus criticus* in Olson and Sens (2000) 241-5, cited here. This text is based on Helm’s (1959) edition of Apuleius and takes into account Skutsch’s (1968) comments on the *Hedyphagetica*.

Quintus Ennius wrote a *Hedyphagetica* in verse; he lists countless types of fish, which he has clearly studied carefully. I remember a few verses, which I will recite:

Just as the sea-weasel at Clipea surpasses all others,
 mussels are most abundant at Ainus, rough-shelled oysters at Abydus.
 The scallop is found in Mytilene and in Ambracian Charadrus.
 The sargue is good in Brindisi; if it is big, buy it.
 Be aware that the boar-fish is of the highest quality at Tarentum.
 Be sure to buy the *elops* in Surrentum and the *glaukos* in Cumae.
 Why have I passed over the parrot-wrasse, a veritable brain of Jove the
 Highest
 (it is big and good when caught in Nestor's homeland),
 the blacktail, the rainbow wrasse, the blackbird-fish, and the maigre?
 At Corcyra there is octopus, fat bass heads,
 purple shellfish large and small, mussels, and sweet sea-urchins.

He honoured many other fish with his verses, and (tells) among which people, and how roasted or stewed, each of them tastes best.¹⁷⁸

Ennius' *Hedyphagetica* translation was partially preserved in Apuleius' *Apologia* (39.2), composed in relation to his trial in 158-9 CE.¹⁷⁹ Apuleius evokes the poem to refute an allegation that he had used an aphrodisiac derived from fish to seduce his wife, Pudentilla.¹⁸⁰ The eleven lines recorded in the *Apologia* are our only source for Ennius' poem.¹⁸¹ It is clear that the paucity of verses preserved poses several constraints to the interpretation of the *Hedyphagetica*, as a translation in particular and as a poem *tout court*. Apuleius' *paucos uorsus memini* suggests that he has cited the verses from memory, raising the possibility that the fragment does not represent a continuous section of Ennius' poem and bringing into question the reliability of the sequence of verses as they are relayed.¹⁸² His qualifying remarks also

¹⁷⁸ Translation: Olson and Sens (2000) 241-2 (adapted).

¹⁷⁹ For the date of Apuleius' trial see Harrison (2000) 3; on the *Apologia* Harrison (2000) 7, 39-88.

¹⁸⁰ Apul. *Apol.* 30.4 *ad amoris ardorem accendendum*. On Apuleius' interest in fish see Harrison (2000) 65-9, especially 66 for the association of fish with magic. According to Harrison (2000) 68, Apuleius cites the *Hedyphagetica* to justify his own works on 'the techniques of fish reproduction and their classification (38.1-4)' and his 'personally invented Latin equivalents for Greek fish names' as literature and to present himself as 'an impressive bilingual intellectual, doing original ichthyological research'. It also represents 'a careful assertion that interest in fish is Roman as well as Greek'.

¹⁸¹ Warmington (1935) 407; Kruschwitz (1998) 261; Harrison (2000) 68 n.79.

¹⁸² This is argued extensively by Kruschwitz (1998) 263-4 and *passim*. Kruschwitz's approach is based on his reassessment of the traditionally held correspondences between the fragments of Archestratus' and Ennius' texts. In his opinion, the fragments of the *Hedupatheia* corroborate the reading of vv. 35-6 Vahlen (= 2-3 Warmington) as consecutive. He proposes that the remaining verses be read as discrete fragments and suggests that v. 39

indicate that the poem was considerably longer and that instructions for culinary preparation, familiar from the *Hedupatheia*, were a primary element in Ennius' conception of his poem.¹⁸³ However, while it is important to acknowledge the difficulties inherent in the comparison of these two fragmentarily preserved texts, it is more interesting to observe that the extant fragments suggest that Ennius' translation practices in the *Hedyphagetica* are consonant with what is known of early Latin poetic translation techniques. However, as we shall see, the ways in which Ennius diverged from the tradition established by Livius Andronicus are equally important for our understanding of his text.

I shall first examine the precedent. At the beginning of last century, Leo recognised that early Latin poetic translations could be better understood outside the modern conception of translation as 'faithful reproduction'. Through his analysis of the *Odussia* fragments, Leo demonstrated that 'literal fidelity' was not the primary aim of Livius' translation.¹⁸⁴ Livius' translation practice emerged as both a creative and transformative process in which the poet-translator was free to 'rewrite' his 'source text', a strategy which enabled him to bring the poem closer to the cultural environment of his audience.¹⁸⁵ More recently, Sciarrino has advanced our

Vahlen (= 6 Warmington) originally represented two unconnected verses. For his 'Textkonstitution' see Kruschwitz (1998) 272. On possible discontinuities in the text see also Olson and Sens (2000) 242. Fucarino (1991) 200 has also raised the question of Apuleius' deliberate manipulation of the text for his defence.

¹⁸³ Apul. *Apol.* 39.2 *alios etiam multis uorsibus decorauit [...] qualiter assus aut iurulentus optime sapiat*, with Olson and Sens (2000) 242.

¹⁸⁴ Leo (1912) 90: 'Wie weit sich Form und Ausdruck vom Original entfernen, zeigt jeder Vers'. Leo (1912) 87-93, elaborated in (1913) 55-75, especially 73-5. Followed by Fraenkel (1931); Mariotti (1986); Waszink (1956, 1960, 1979) and more recently Possanza (2004) especially 46-64, 12-14 and *passim*. See also McElduff (2004a) 121. On the need to avoid applying modern conceptions of translation to early Latin poetic translation see especially Leo (1913) 75: 'Man muß sich überhaupt, um die Absicht dieser Männer [*poetae*] zu verstehn, von dem modernen Übersetzungsbegriff freimachen [...] Es war also nicht Übersetzung in unserm Sinne, sondern etwas der Sache nach Verschiedenes, was Livius durch seine Arbeit ausbildete und seinen Nachfolgern weitergab.' See also Possanza (2004) 14, 47, 50, 53, 56-7, who notes at p.47, however, that the 'descriptive approach' advocated by Leo is the approach now favoured by the modern discipline of Translation Studies. For the origins of modern ideas on translation see Brock (1979); Friedrich (1992).

¹⁸⁵ Leo (1913) 75 referred to this process as 'freie Übertragung': 'Sie haben das 'Wenden' [*uertere*] in die eigene Sprache von Anfang an als ein Umbilden verstanden, bei dem der Bildner an den Wortlaut des Originals und an die Einzelheiten der Ausführung nicht gebunden war.' Examples in Leo (1912) 90-2; Leo (1913) 73-5, with discussion in Possanza (2004) 47-56. On the creative freedom of the poet see also Leo (1913) 75; Büchner (1979)

understanding of Livius' *Odussia* translation by bringing into consideration both the nature of the audience which Livius addressed and 'the type of socio-cultural work that his translation brought about'.¹⁸⁶ Raising these questions enables her to explore the powerful ideological component inherent in the translation into Latin of Greek poetic texts. Sciarrino considers Livius' *Odussia* as a direct response 'to the urge of his elite audience to express their political and military ascendancy through the romanization of Greek literature'.¹⁸⁷ One of the most significant strategies by which Livius achieved this was his transformation of the Homeric Hexameter into Saturnian cola, a metrical form, as we have seen, explicitly associated with the pre-poetic traditions of the Roman elite.¹⁸⁸ As Sciarrino has shown, this transformation had significant socio-cultural consequences:

Livius [...] graft[ed] the contents of a text in which the whole Greek speaking world recognized itself onto a song rhythm that signified the cultural hegemony of those who held political and social power in Rome. Accordingly, by translating the *Odyssey* and by performing from his translation, Livius transferred one of the most inalienable possessions of the Greeks into a long-standing and exclusive cultural repertoire belonging to the Romans.¹⁸⁹

In this way, he was able to fulfil 'the desires of cultural mastery' of his elite Roman sponsors.¹⁹⁰ However, as Sciarrino contests, by emphasising his own instrumentality in this transformation and by reciting from his poetic script within the context of the *convivium*, Livius was able to simultaneously elevate his own social status, achieving a position in relation to his elite audience which can be considered 'somewhat

especially 62-4, with Fraenkel (1931) 603; Possanza (2004) 57, who defines the parameters of Latin poetic translation as 'subjective and innovative rather than objective and reproductive', see also pp. 14, 45, 58, 74-5 n.82. On bringing the poem closer to cultural environment, a process defined by Possanza (2004) 47-9, 58 as 'innovative assimilation': Leo (1912) 90-3; Leo (1913). This aspect of Livius' translation is now widely acknowledged. On the extent to which this concept of translation informed all later Latin poetic translations, see Leo (1912) 93: 'Darin zeigt sich zwar keine Tendenz zu gewissenhafter Übertragung, aber poetische Anlage, der der Übersetzer offenbar frei und sorglos Raum läßt. Es ist die Richtungslinie, in der sich alle Folgenden bewegen.' See also Leo (1913) 59-60, 75, with Büchner (1979) 63; Possanza (2004) 48.

¹⁸⁶ Sciarrino (2006) 454. See also Sciarrino (forthcoming).

¹⁸⁷ Sciarrino (2006) 457. This approach builds on the work of Gruen (1990); Gruen (1992) and Habinek (1998) 62. Compare also Said (1993).

¹⁸⁸ On Livius' invocation of the *Camena* (*Od.* 1 Warmington), see especially Sciarrino (2006) 453-4, 457-8, with Leo (1913) 73-4; Possanza (2003) 47-8. For the associations of the Saturnian metre see Sciarrino (2006) 457-8.

¹⁸⁹ Sciarrino (2006) 458.

¹⁹⁰ Sciarrino (2006) 457.

comparable to that of later poets'.¹⁹¹ Before returning to Ennius' translation, let us focus briefly on Sciarrino's methodological framework and the perspective this opens up for our understanding of how Ennius himself was able to fulfil these same desires of cultural mastery for the Roman elite.

Sciarrino's approach to Roman appropriations of Greek literary culture is informed by modern anthropological approaches to 'cultural fascination'. Her work builds on the anthropological premise that to maintain and enhance social and political authority requires a continual effort 'to capture someone else's inalienable possessions, to embrace someone else's ancestors, magic, power and transfer parts of these identities to the next generation'.¹⁹² In particular, Sciarrino draws on Helms' study of the commonalities in cultural meanings ascribed to the long-distance acquisition of goods and acts of 'skilled crafting' in traditional societies.¹⁹³ Both

¹⁹¹ Sciarrino (2006) 455. Building on existing scholarly discussion on *versutus*, in particular in Hinds (1998) 61-2, Sciarrino (2006) 457 draws attention to the doubly self-referential aspect of *versutus* in the opening line of the *Odussia*, 'if by choosing *versutus* Livius "troped" his linguistic versatility into Odysseus's πολυτροπία, it is also true that he "troped" Odysseus's mythological cunning back onto himself'. Compare also his use of *mihi* (*Od.* 1 Warmington), with Sciarrino (2006) 454. The social consequences of Livius' translation are formulated clearly by Sciarrino (2006) 454-5: 'In this sense, one can say that Livius displayed his ability to access the literary patrimony of the Greeks through solo performances based on his scripted translation of the *Odyssey*. At the same time, he showed his privileged listeners how to use translations to bolster their social, political and cultural hegemony more directly.' For an interpretation of *Od.* 1 as 'encapsulating the conflict inherent in Roman translation' see McElduff (2004b) 101. Compare also the approach of Possanza (2004) 54. While Possanza does not fully take into account the social implications of Livius' translation, he concludes that rather than conceiving of his source text as an artefact to be preserved, Livius treated it as 'interacting' with its new environment, something to be changed and adapted.

¹⁹² Weiner (1992) 48 cited in Sciarrino (2005) 459. See also Helms (1993) 2-10 and *passim*.

¹⁹³ Helms (1993) especially 3-5. For Helms (1993) 5, 'craft' includes not only production of material goods but other 'skilled abilities', such as the activities of poets. Helms (1993) 3 builds on an earlier body of work which establishes that 'members of traditional societies do not interpret geographical distance in neutral terms. Instead they accord a range of symbolically charged meanings to distance-related phenomena, generally viewing them as inherently superior or inferior, dangerous, or superlatively beneficial to the home society'. Her focus here is on the 'symbolism and ideology associated with the material goods derived from geographically distant places', which she summarises (1993) 4: 'By obtaining such goods from afar, persons of influence, or elites, are involved in symbolically charged acts of both acquisition and transformation by which resources originating from locales outside society are obtained and brought inside society where they may be materially altered and/or symbolically reinterpreted or transformed to meet particular political-ideological requirements.'

activities are associated with ‘elites’ and confer prestige and influence on the practitioner.¹⁹⁴ As Helms argues:

like long-distance acquisition, [...] skilled crafting involve[s] the initial acquisition of some form of materials from realms geographically or symbolically outside society or “civilization,” followed by their transformation into socially significant goods or public services that, again like long-distance goods, are frequently associated with elite activities.¹⁹⁵

As we have seen, long-distance acquisition and skilled crafting were both activities implicated in Rome’s military expansion.¹⁹⁶ In the model envisaged by Helms, elite groups were directly responsible for acts of acquisition. However, in Rome, although the acquisition of material spoils was associated with the city’s elite, it was foreign professional poets who initially mediated in the changes of cultural ownership responsible for conveying Greek literary culture to Rome. As Sciarrino’s analysis of Livius’ *Odussia* identifies, poets’ translation practices were a form of skilled crafting sustained by the demand of Rome’s ruling class for the relocation to Rome of cultural goods from afar.¹⁹⁷ Helms considers the ideological value ascribed to crafted goods in terms of their ‘cosmological’ location, both geographically and temporally, in relation to the centre.¹⁹⁸ In Rome, the poet, who embodies powers of acquisition and skilled crafting, is able to access both sites.¹⁹⁹ As Sciarrino has shown, by translating Greece’s literary patrimony into Rome’s ancestral metre and performing from his translation, Livius drew on both ‘the geographical “out there” and the temporal “back then”’, thereby demonstrating to his audience ‘how to expand their ideological

¹⁹⁴ Helms (1993) 3-5, *passim*.

¹⁹⁵ Helms (1993) 5. Helms’ (*ibid*) premise is that ‘skilled crafting and acquisition of long-distance goods constitute a “package” of comparable activities with comparable meanings, qualities, or values attributed to them, their products and their practitioners’.

¹⁹⁶ Although Helms does not address acquisitions derived from conquest, she considers (1993) 5 that her ‘argument would hold for raids, warfare and the booty derived therefrom’.

¹⁹⁷ In Sciarrino’s (2006) 459 analysis: ‘Poetic craftsmanship was distinct from and yet involved in the long-distance acquisitions that the Roman elite were now pursuing by war, and, from war, poetic craftsmanship drew force and meaning. This is because, like war, poetry required a significant exertion that bestowed social prestige as well as cosmological legitimacy on its practitioners and its sponsors.’ As we have seen above, the poets themselves had also been relocated from afar. I will return to the increase in status associated with skilled craftsmanship below, pp. 56-8. See also McElduff (2004b) 98-147 on this point.

¹⁹⁸ Helms (1993) 6-7 and *passim*, followed by Sciarrino (2006) 458-9.

¹⁹⁹ Sciarrino (2006) 458 envisages poets ‘as active agents situated on a critical cosmological threshold between two distinct sites located on a geographical axis (the “here” and “out there”) and two other equally distinct sites located on a temporal axis (the “now” and the “back then”)’.

legitimacy by drawing simultaneously from two distinct cosmological places located outside the “here and now”.²⁰⁰ The thematic focus of the *Hedyphagetica* suggests that Ennius’ translation may have offered a similar opportunity for his elite sponsors to strengthen the ideological legitimacy necessary to sustain their control over and access to the resources of empire within the ‘acculturative context of the *conuiuium*’.²⁰¹

The geographical perspective opened up by Sciarrino’s approach may help us to understand Ennius’ decision to bring the geographical purview of his poem closer to Rome.²⁰² In so far as we are able to compare his poem with Arcestratus’ original, we can identify a tendency of substitution of West for East, southern Italian for Sicilian.²⁰³ In the only fragment to reveal a clear correspondence with an extant fragment of Arcestratus’ text, vv. 2-3, Ennius expands on his original with additional geographical precision in his description of Ambracia, the furthest west of the four locations evoked by Arcestratus (fr. 7.1-3).²⁰⁴ Ennius has clearly rewritten his source

²⁰⁰ Sciarrino (2006) 458. See also Sciarrino (2006) 459: ‘just as in other traditional societies, so, too, in Rome, the “out there” and the “back then” were equal foci of energizing spirituality and legitimacy for the living members of society’. See Sciarrino (2004b), (2006) 467-9 for the view that Cato the Censor deployed a similar strategy to articulate his own model for appropriate aristocratic convivial song in the *Origines*.

²⁰¹ On the *conuiuium* as ‘acculturative’ see Habinek (2005a) 49 and below, pp. 48-9.

²⁰² See Dench (2005) 162-73 for evidence that from the third century BCE ‘Italy was in some sense thought to be peculiarly Roman territory’.

²⁰³ For example v. 6 Surrentum for Syracuse, Asia minor and Crete (Arch. fr. 12.1); Cumae for Olynthus and Megara (Arch. fr. 21.1-2); v. 7 Pylos for Chalcedon, Byzantium and Ephesus (Arch. fr. 14.1, 42.1). These comparisons are based on the respective preferred locations to acquire the named species of fish. See Appendix, with Fucarino (1991) 201; Wilkins (2003) 363. Some of the places evoked in the *Hedyphagetica* are unlikely to have been known to Arcestratus: Clipea was founded in c. 310 BCE, considerably later than the *Hedupatheia*’s likely date of composition; Surrentum, although a Greek colony, was under Oscan control in Arcestratus’ era and is further north than other Italian places mentioned in his poem; Cumae came under Samnite control in 421 BCE and also lies further north west than Arcestratus’ other Italian destinations.

²⁰⁴ τοὺς μὺς Αἶνος ἔχει μεγάλους, ὅστρεα δ’ Ἄβυδος / τὰς ἄρκτους Πάριον, τοὺς δὲ κτένας ἢ Μυτιλήνη, / πλείστον δ’ Ἀμβρακίη παρέχει καὶ ἄπλατα μετ’ αὐτῶν / < >. (fr. 7.1-3) Ainus has large mussels, Abydos oysters, / Parion bear-crabs, and Mytilene scallops. / But Ambracia supplies the largest number of these and, / along with them, boundless. Translation: Olson and Sens (2000) 39, adapted. On Ennius’ inclusion of Ambracia see Skutsch (1968) 38-9, followed by Bettini (1979) 55-7. In the only other instance where we have a correspondence between fish and location, the *polypus* (v. 10) from Corcyra, Ennius also selects the most western of Arcestratus’ destinations (Arch. fr. 54).

text to relate it to the experience of his Roman audience.²⁰⁵ Indeed, the geographical scope of Ennius' translation evokes Rome's recent history of military expansion. Part of the way in which Livius Andronicus accommodated his *Odussia* translation to a Roman perspective was to substitute the Latin *Graecia* (11 Blänsdorf = Warmington 15), a term which connotes the 'political geography of the expanding *Imperium Romanum*', for the home of the Achaeans (*Od.* 4.495-7).²⁰⁶ The effects of Roman expansion are much more visible in the *Hedyphagetica*. We know that Ennius had participated in Fulvius Nobilior's Aetolia campaign, generally considered to provide a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the poem, and we know from the *Annales* that the poet took an active interest in the military history of the Roman elite.²⁰⁷ Nobilior's capture and plunder of Ambracia (v. 3) and consequent triumph likely provides the contemporary context for the production of poem.²⁰⁸ Other places evoked in the *Hedyphagetica* had also played a role in Rome's recent history.²⁰⁹ On

²⁰⁵ With Fucarino (1991) 200.

²⁰⁶ πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γε δάμεν, πολλοὶ δὲ λίποντο· / ἄρχοι δ' αὖ δύο μούνοι Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων / ἐν νόστῳ ἀπόλοντο. Possanza (2004) 48. He also transliterated the southern Italian and Sicilian form of his hero's name, Οὐλίξης (*Ulixes* 30 Blänsdorf = Warmington 18), rather than the epic Ὀδύσσευς, see Possanza (2004) 48. This imposition of a Roman perspective on the heroic past leads Possanza to posit a connection between Livius' 'literary appropriation of the text through translation' and Rome's 'physical appropriation of *Magna Graecia*'.

²⁰⁷ With Skutsch (1985) 5. For Ennius' involvement in the Aetolia campaign see: Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.3, *honorem tamen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis in qua obiecit ut probum M. Nobiliori quod is in prouinciam poetas duxisset. Duxerat autem consul ille in Aetoliam, ut scimus, Ennium*. For the connection between the *Annales* and Fulvius' *Fasti* see Gildenhard (2003); Sciarrino (2006) 462; Rüpke (2006).

²⁰⁸ For Fulvius' siege of Ambracia, 189 BCE, see: Pol. 21.27; Liv. 38.4-11 and above, pp. 9-10. Following this Ambracia became a *civitas libera* (Liv. 38.44), see *BNP* 1 coll. 570-1 s.v. Ambracia (D. Strauch). Book 15 of the *Annales* described Fulvius' Aetolian campaign and included a description of the *Aedes Hercules Musarum*, see Rossi and Breed (2006) 408. Ennius also composed the *Ambracia*, possibly a *fabula praetexta* (Flower [1995] 184-6, Rossi and Breed [2006] 408). It is uncertain whether Fulvius passed through other places evoked in the *Hedyphagetica* on campaign. We know that he went to Cephallania on his return from Ambracia (Liv. 37.50.5, 38.28.5-29) so it is possible that he stopped off at Corcyra (v. 10) as well. However, it is not necessary to speculate to find evidence of places which recall Roman expansion.

²⁰⁹ Compare also the observation of De Angelis and Garstad (2006) 214 with regard to Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' *Sacred History*: 'When Ennius translated the *Sacred History* (sometime in the first two decades of the second century BC), the influence of the Hellenistic kingdoms on Rome was not very considerable but the influence of Sicily and South Italy on Rome had always been significant. In Ennius' day especially, the recent conquest of the island would have focused Roman attention on Sicily through increased contacts and the imperative to understand peoples newly fallen under Roman government'. While De Angelis and Garstad's intention is to present a case to identify Euhemerus as the Sicilian Euhemerus of Messene, their comments also reflect the increasing Roman interest in

the Italian Peninsula, Tarentum (v. 5), which had been a dominant economic and political power among the Greek cities of southern Italy, had been recaptured by Q. Fabius Maximus in 209, the second Roman triumph to display spoils from that city in little over half a century.²¹⁰ Cumae (v. 6) had held the status of *civitas sine suffragio* since 334 and had remained loyal to Rome in Hannibal's siege.²¹¹ It was also the home of the Sibyl, which had been of long-standing political importance to Rome.²¹² Brundisium (v. 4), had come under Roman occupation in 266 BCE and had become a Roman colony in 244.²¹³ Outside Italy, Corcyra (v. 10) had been the first Greek city to belong to Roman territory.²¹⁴ Clipea (v. 1) was of strategic value and had been occupied during the First Punic war.²¹⁵ In more recent history, Mytilene had retained its autonomy by consistently supporting Roman expansion in the east at the beginning of the Second Century BCE.²¹⁶ The poem provides a catalogue-like recollection of places which had come under Roman influence.²¹⁷ By bringing the poem into the Roman sphere of experience in this way, Ennius provided his audience with an opportunity to visualise the spoils of conquest.²¹⁸ On one level, Rome, an inland city,

southern Italy which informs Ennius' translation practices more generally. Although Ennius' tendency is to move his poem closer to Rome, including the shift from Syracuse to Surrentum (v. 6), we should not discount that he also included Sicilian locations in his *Hedyphagetica*. For Rome's broader interaction with southern Italy in this period see Lomas (1993).

²¹⁰ *BNP* 14 coll.139-41 s.v. Taras [2] (A. Muggia). For the Roman triumph over Tarentum in 272 see above, n. 38. Tarentum fell to Hannibal in 212. The city had a hostile relationship with Rome, although it had supplied ships for the Roman fleet during the Second Punic War (Pol. 1.20.14). See *BNP* 14 coll.139-41 s.v. Taras [2] (A. Muggia), Olson and Sens (2000) 243. Tarentum was also the home of Livius Andronicus: Cic. *Brut.* 72, Liv. 27.37.7.

²¹¹ *BNP* 3 col.1049 s.v. Cyme [2] (A. Muggia).

²¹² *BNP* 3 col.1049 s.v. Cyme [2] (A. Muggia).

²¹³ *BNP* 2 col.792 s.v. Brundisium (G. Camassa); Olson and Sens (2000) 243. Brundisium had become a major centre of Roman naval power after the Punic wars. For Surrentum see Fucarino (1991) 199, who, following La Penna (1989), describes it as 'più vicina e conosciuta dal referente romano', in relation to Syracuse.

²¹⁴ *BNP* 3 coll.783-6 s.v. Corcyra (D. Strauch).

²¹⁵ Bettini (1979) 58. See also Courtney (1993) 22; Olson and Sens (2000) 242-3.

²¹⁶ Liv. 37.12.5; 21.4. Compare also Ainus (v. 2), which was bequeathed to Rome in 185 BCE, see *BNP* 1 col.406 s.v. Ainus (I. von Bredow). Abydus (v. 2) was a harbour town in a strategic position. It was destroyed by Phillip V in 200 BCE (Liv. 16.29-34), resettled and fortified by Antiochus III and successfully withstood a Roman siege (Liv 37.9). After 188 BC, it appears to have belonged to Pergamum, see *BNP* 1 col.38 s.v. Abydus (E. Schwetheim). Cf. *Annales* 322-3 Sk. for Ennius' intention to relate 'what each Roman general accomplished in the war against King Philip', see Sciarrino (2006) 464.

²¹⁷ For a discussion of the social effects of catalogues in performance see Sciarrino (2004b) 345-7. In cultures of performance, the performance of foreign material in catalogue form enacts its appropriation.

²¹⁸ Especially if we are to envisage his poem as approximating Archestratus' in length. Compare the earlier and contemporary evidence for the 'proprietary behaviour of Rome in

had acquired unrestricted access to a resource which had long held luxury status in the Mediterranean, desirable species of fish and other seafood.²¹⁹ Roman banquets could now rival the legendary culinary tradition of southern Italy. The symbolic value of luxury seafood was equally potent, representing Rome's broader control of the sea.²²⁰ On a further level, if we accept the argument for convivial performance proposed by Sciarrino, we can include the 'acquisition' of the poem itself as an element of conspicuous display within the elite *convivium*. Let us now bring the convivial context back into view.

As the archaeological evidence has revealed, the *convivium* had always been a source of aristocratic display. The literary evidence reviewed in Chapter 1 suggests

the conquest and management of Italy' in Dench (2005) 164-73. Dench (2005) 168-71 notes in particular the catalogue-like form of Cato's *Origines*, which suggests the "logging" of Italy according to Roman mentalities'. Sciarrino (2004b) 343-5 has emphasised that the catalogue created by *Origines* Books 1-3 accounts for the newly acquired 'human, material, and symbolic resources by arranging them within a geo-strategic pattern'. Compare also the 'shopping lists' in Cato's *De Agricultura*, especially 135 (Goujard), with discussion in Dench (2005) 171-2. For Cato's mapping in the *De Agricultura* see Sciarrino (forthcoming).

²¹⁹ A similar conclusion is reached by Connors (2005) 125, who associates the *Hedyphagetica* with other spoils from Ambracia: 'Ennius' translation of Arcestratus, too, transforms a Greek artefact into a document of Roman conquest even in details as small as the scallops at Charadros: the world of the Mediterranean is no longer merely the place where a Sicilian gourmet travels to eat, but from where a Roman general comes home in triumph.' Compare also Jocelyn (1972) 994. Dench (2005) 171 notes that 'food and commodities linked specifically to individual Italian peoples or towns' were also a feature of Roman comedy', see Naevius' *Ariolus* ll. 25-6 (= *Fabula Palliatae* fr. 22-6 Warmington) for Praenestine nuts and Lanuvian stuffed wombs: (A) *Quis heri apud te?* / (B) *Praenestini et Lanuvini hospites.* / (A) *Suopte utrosque decuit acceptos cibo, / ateris inanm uolulam madidam dari, / alteris nuces in procliui profundier.* Dench emphasises that this fragment, along with related material from the antiquarian tradition, creates a sense 'of Rome from a Roman perspective as the economic centre of Italy, as recipient of goods from all over this land. As goods and commodities are received and consumed, so too a notion of individual specialities enhances and creates new distinctions'. Compare also Cato's interest in Gallic prosciutto (Varro *Rust.* 2.4.11), with Dench (2005) 171. For a general discussion of food, wine and dining practices as an expression of the wealth of the Roman Empire see Dalby (2000) 243-56, with a discussion of the *Hedyphagetica* p. 143.

²²⁰ On the luxury status of fish in Rome and the symbolism of fish in the Graeco-Roman world see especially Purcell (1995) 137 and *passim*. On controlling the resources of the sea as 'a potent demonstration of power in general' see Plutarch *Antony* 29.4, in which Cleopatra compares Antony's catch to future conquest of 'cities, realms and continents'. Compare also the anecdote cited by Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.16.3 in which Scipio Aemilianus is presented with an *acipenser qui admodum raro capitur* by Pontius. When Scipio invites others to share the fish, Pontius whispers to him that is 'a fish for few' (*est paucorum hominum*). According to Purcell (1995) 143, the episode reveals the 'conceptual link between the significance of the special maritime delicacies and the tapering pyramid of the social hierarchy'.

that it was also the traditional context for the Roman elite to evaluate and celebrate their performances on the battlefield. We have also seen that in the era after the Second Punic War, the *conuiuium* became a focus of intense intra-elite competition.²²¹ This competitive banqueting was manifested in the demand for the foreign banqueting accessories which entered Rome as spoils, and in the food itself.²²² Like the lists of spoils in triumphal procession, ‘lists of food, verbal ‘heaps’, graphically reproduced the amassing of goods in Rome’.²²³ This is visible, in particular, in the list of foods in *Hedyphagetica* vv.10-11, which has no parallel in Archestratus’ poem.²²⁴ Before considering a further piece of evidence of this type, let us briefly consider the ritual element of the *conuiuium* for, as Rüpke notes, ‘in Rome, as in Greece, it is precisely rituals that produce the frame for important types of literary communication’.²²⁵ In Rome, the *conuiuium* represented the ‘ritualization of

²²¹ On competition in this era see especially Habinek (2005a) 41-2, with Rüpke (1998) *passim*; Gruen (1990) 170-4; Gruen (1992) 304-9. Note the observation of Habinek (2005a) 41: ‘The ebb and flow of material – and I would argue other sorts of – evidence pertaining to conviviality is less a marker of the waxing and waning of participation in convivia than it is of social and political conflicts surrounding and shaped by such participation.’

²²² See above, pp. 18-21. Note also the elevation of the status of the cook, cooking to *ars* (Livy 39.9), above, n.81. On the association of a differentiated cuisine with politically and culturally stratified societies and the acquisition of ingredients from ‘outside’ see Goody (1982) 7-153, especially 105, with examples cross-culturally. On differentiated dining as a ‘likely stimulant to the employment of speciality cooks and the production of cookery books’ see Wilkins (2003) 361, with Goody (1982). On the role of cooks in providing ‘luxuries rather than essentials’ see Wilkins (2003) 360, with Goody (1982) 101.

²²³ Gowers (1993) 18-19. Rüpke (1998) 199 describes this as the ‘Semantik des Überflusses’. A similar effect is created by the listing of place names in the *Hedyphagetica*. Compare also Varro’s *Peri Edesmaton* (ap. Gell. 6.16.5): *pavus e Samo, Phrygia attagena, grues Melicae, haedus ex Ambracia, plamys Chalcedonia, muraena Tartesia, aselli Pessinuntii, ostrea Tarenti, pectunculus Siculus, helops Rhodius, scari Cilices, nuces Thasiae, palma Aegyptia, glans Hiberica*, ‘a peacock from Samos, a woodcock from Phrygia, cranes of Media, a kid from Ambracia, a young tunny from Chalcedon, a lamprey from Tartessus, codfish from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, cockles from Sicily, a swordfish from Rhodes, pike from Cilicia, nuts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, acorns from Spain’. Text and translation Rolfe (1927). Note the broader geographical scope of Varro’s poem and also the presence of *ostrea* and *helops* cf. *Hedyphagetica* vv. 2, 6 respectively. Although Gowers interprets the *Hedyphagetica* as part of the negative tradition of ‘writing against luxurious food and the superfluous desires of the body’ related to Rome’s expansion, I agree with the more recent assessment of Wilkins (2003) 365, who considers that Ennius was ‘writing in a different republican context from the moralising discourse on fish that pervaded the Greek and Roman traditions’. See also Jocelyn (1972) 994: ‘It is ludicrous to find moralistic intent in it’, Courtney (1993) 24-5. However, for fish as the centrepiece of banquets in the later satire tradition see especially Horace’s *Sat.* 2.8.42-6 (cf. *Sat.* 2.2.31-43); Petronius *Sat.* 36.3.

²²⁴ Olson and Sens (2000) 245.

²²⁵ Rüpke (2004) 26. See also Habinek (2005a).

everyday eating and drinking’, that is, commensality in its ritualised form.²²⁶ Conviviality was the practice by which all relationships of *sodalitas* were constituted, combining, as Habinek has emphasised,

action, song and special objects to materialize, in this case, the abstraction of *sodalitas* itself – that is, of a unified peer group entitled to a disproportionate share of the community’s resources.²²⁷

We can envisage the private banquets of the various *collegia* as a context for much private banqueting in early second-century Rome.²²⁸ Because of their political character, such banquets were likely to have provided the context for particularly visible displays of ‘Küchenwettbewerb’, a phenomenon which seems initially to have been related to the decreased opportunities to hold public offices following the *lex Ogulnia* of 300 BCE.²²⁹ As we have seen, intra-elite competition further increased in the era of overseas expansion, leading to a series of *leges sumptuariae* imposing restrictions on lavish banqueting, the first of which, the *lex Orchia*, was passed in 182

²²⁶ Habinek (2005a) 36-7, 43-3.

²²⁷ Habinek (2005a) 43. Habinek also notes the relevance to conviviality of Bell’s (1992) 197 observation that ‘ritualization is first and foremost a strategy for the construction of certain types of power relationships effective within particular social organizations’, cited in Habinek (2005a) 43. See also above, n.104.

²²⁸ Rüpke (1998) 195-210. Rüpke (1998) 201-2 notes the particular importance of the *Pontifices* and College of Augurs in this context: ‘Die traditionell monatlichen Treffen der beiden wichtigsten Priesterschaften, der Pontifices und Auguren, in den Privathäusern ihrer Mitglieder [...] waren Gelegenheiten zu üppigsten Bankettten’. Rüpke (1998) 194 defines the banquet broadly as a ‘häusliches Festmahl, zu dem in adliger Haushalt eine kleine Gruppe annähernd Gleichgestellter einlädt.’ He emphasises that the religious context, though not always prominent, is always present. For the connection between banquets of public priesthoods and the sacrificial banquet see Rüpke (2007) 143-8. For the importance of the *salii* in closing the gap between aristocratic banquet culture and the development of ‘Tafel-Clubs’ in *collegia* see Rüpke (1998) 203-6. On this connection see also Habinek (2005a) 36-40.

²²⁹ Rüpke (1998) 198-200, 205-7. This law extended the right to enter certain priesthoods to plebeians. Rüpke considers the *lex Ogulnia* pivotal in revealing the centrality of the question of commensality for the structure of Roman society in this era. His argument is convincingly stated (1998) 207: ‘Die *lex Ogulnia* beweist, wie zentral die Frage der Tischgemeinschaft, der Kommensalität, um 300 v.Chr. für die Gesellschaftsstruktur war. Der verschärfte interne Wettbewerb, den die Vergrößerung der patrizischen Führungsschicht zur patrizisch-plebejischen Nobilität gebracht hat, der Kampf um Prestige und Positionen muß sich auch in den neuen Convivialkollegien niedergeschlagen haben. Die natürlichste Form war dann hier ein Küchenwettbewerb, der auch in anderen Banketten des Jahrhunderts seinen Niederschlag gefunden haben mag, aber aufgrund der sozialen Konstellation vielleicht nirgends schärfer war. In Anbetracht der seltenen Gelegenheiten, in politisch-militärischen Ämtern Bemerkenswertes zu leisten, mußten auch solche Felder – neben der juristischen Betätigung in spektakulären Anklagen und Verteidigungen – genutzt werden.’

with the ostensible aim of restricting the number of guests at a banquet.²³⁰ This resulted in even greater culinary competition within priestly banquets.²³¹ For Rüpke, the *Hedyphagetica* can be considered as evidence of the culinary heights attained in such banquets.²³² However, by taking into account Rüpke's more recent appraisal of competition in priestly banquets from a ritual perspective, I would also like to consider the possibility that Ennius made a more active intervention in the convivial habits of his contemporary elite.

Rüpke examines a description of a *cena aditialis*, the inaugural meal offered by a newly elected member of the priesthood of the Pontifices to his colleagues, recorded in the *commentarii* and cited in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. The meal is likely to have taken place in 70 BCE, a little over one hundred years after the composition of

²³⁰ On *leges sumptuariae* see Astin (1978) 90-4; Gruen (1990) 72 n.169, 170-3; Rüpke (1998) 197-8. For Cato's criticism of elite expenditure on fish see Polybius 31.25.5: ἐφ' οἷς καὶ Μάρκος <ἀγανακτῶν> εἶπέ ποτε πρὸς δῆμον ὅτι μάλιστ' ἂν κατίδοιεν τὴν ἐπὶ <τὸ> χεῖρον προκοπὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκ τούτων, ὅταν πωλούμενοι πλείον εὐρίσκωσιν οἱ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖς παῖδες τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ δὲ κεράμια τοῦ ταρίχου τῶν ζευγηλατῶν. 'Marcus Cato became so indignant at this that he said in a public speech that he recognized in these matters the surest sign of decline in the state when pretty boys sold for more than fields and jars of preserved fish for more than ploughmen.' Translation: Goldberg (2005) 14, adapted. A similar speech is reported by Plutarch: *ORF* 145 = Plut. *Cat. mai.* 8.2, κατηγορῶν δὲ τῆς πολυτελείας ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι σωθῆναι πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ πωλεῖται πλείονος ἰχθὺς ἢ βοῦς. 'Again inveighing against the prevalent extravagance, he said: 'It is a hard matter to save a city in which a fish sells for more than an ox.' Translation Perrin (1948) 323. Cato provides his own recipe for fish as a laxative in *De Agricultura* (158 Goujard), cited by Horace, *Sat.* 2.4.27-9, with Muecke (1993) 171.

²³¹ Rüpke (1998) 208: 'In der wachsenden Schere von steigender öffentlicher Luxuskritik und sich verschärfendem innernobilitären Wettbewerb wurden die Priesterbankette zwangsläufig zu Brennpunkten kulinarischer Invention.' Compare also the observation of Goody (1982) 35-6: '[T]he different forms of consumption in hierarchical societies are not simply transformations of a timeless cultural pattern that continues unaffected by a changing social system. They are in conflict with one another not only at the formal level but in action too. They may generate conflict and conflict may generate change'. Rüpke (1998) 200-1 draws attention to the elite practice of keeping fishponds, a practice associated with members of the augural *collegium*: Plutarch, *Lucullus* 40f., Ooteghem (1959) 187-91. According to Pliny (*NH* 9.66), high quality *garum* was called *sociorum*, with Purcell (1995) 144. Compare Varro's (*Rust.* 3.17.5-7) description of Hortensius and his pet fish. See also Purcell (1995) 136-7, 140-1, Wilkins (1993) 202-3 on the significance of feeding fish. For the association of fish and political ambition in the Greek world see, for example, Wilkins (1993) 199; Fisher (2000).

²³² Rüpke (1998) 207-8. This would seem especially compelling if we take into account Apuleius' remark that the *Hedyphagetica* included instructions for preparation.

the *Hedyphagetica*; however it is the interpretive possibilities opened up by this text which interest me:²³³

cena haec fuit: ante cenam echinos, ostreas crudas quantum uellent, peloridas, sphondylos, turdum asparagos subtus, gallinam altilem, patinam ostrearum peloridum, balanos nigros, balanos albos; iterum sphondylos, glycomaridas, urticas, ficedulas, lumbos capruginos aprugnos, altilia ex farina inuoluta, ficedulas, murices et purpuras. in cena sumina, sinciput aprugnum, patinam piscium, patinam suminis, anates, querquedulas elixas, lepores, altilia assa, amulum, panes Picentes. (Macr. Sat. 3.13.12)

This was the meal: Before the main course sea urchin, raw oysters (as many as everybody liked), giant mussels, mussels, thrushes under asparagus, fattened chicken, a bowl of oysters and giant mussels, black shell animals, white shell animals, again mussels, Venus mussels, stinging nettle, fig thrushes, loin roast of goats and boar, fattened poultry coated with breadcrumbs, again fig thrushes, two sorts of purple snails. For the main course pork udder, head of boar, a bowl of fishes, a bowl of udder, ducks, cooked crick ducks, rabbits, back fattened poultry, wheat porridge.²³⁴

Although the description is preceded by an equally long list of those present (3.13.10-11), as Rüpke emphasizes, it is the variable element of the ritual, the meal itself, that forms the focus of the record.²³⁵ Rüpke interprets this description as the documentation of ‘a non-synchronic, culinary competition’.²³⁶ It is worth considering further the power of writing drawn out by Rüpke’s analysis:

Writing allowed a precision that turned competition in [*sic*] a more demanding and all the more worthwhile thing. [...] It lifted details of a particular performance into the sphere of permanently documented ritual. That must have left an impact on the hosts: The range of competition exceeded actual, unsupported memory.²³⁷

How can the performance of a poetic script like the *Hedyphagetica* be compared to written documentation of this kind? A further passage evoked by Rüpke creates a link between the two texts. *Annales* 72-91 Sk. depicts an inaugural scene of *auspicium* in

²³³ Rüpke (1998) 199; Rüpke (2004) 29.

²³⁴ Text and translation: Rüpke (2004) 29. Cf. *Hedyphagetica* v. 2 *aspra ostrea*, v. 11 *echini*.

²³⁵ Rüpke (2004) 30. Similarly, as Rüpke (2004) 30 notes, descriptions of triumphs also focus on the ‘performance’, i.e. ‘the details of the procession’. He cites a contemporary example, Appian’s description of Pompeius’ triumph (*Mithr.* 116f.), but see also the descriptions of triumphs cited above, pp. 9-10, n.38.

²³⁶ Rüpke (2004) 29-30.

²³⁷ Rüpke (2004) 30. As Rüpke (2004) 30 concludes, precise documentation, ‘especially of how the most variable elements of the ritual had been concretized, [...] allowed comparison in an aristocracy based on competitive prestige’. Compare the ‘monetarising’ approach of satirists to culinary luxury, with Rüpke (2004) 30.

Roman history. Augury was an element of aristocratic competition in Ennius' era.²³⁸ The scene comprises 'a highly artificial description of an allegedly historical performance of a ritual with a legitimating function'.²³⁹ If we follow the arguments of Rüpke and Sciarrino, that the *Annales* were composed for recitation in a convivial setting, then, as Rüpke establishes, the text recalls the individual practices of its elite listeners and at the same time emphasises the importance of the practice by creating an audience for the ritual not present in its real-life performance within the text (78ff.).²⁴⁰ As he concludes, 'the ritual, practiced in recension, turns out to be a highly communicative performance'.²⁴¹ The *Hedyphagetica* can also be interpreted as a 'reflection on ritual', in this case, while the ritual itself, conviviality, is taking place.²⁴² Here, the actual participants in the *convivium* replace the imagined audience in Ennius' augury scene, yet the performance of a convivial script within the *convivium*, the 'literary use' of a central practice, can be interpreted as having a similarly legitimising function.²⁴³ Further, the creation of a written script can contribute to the convivial competition which characterised relationships amongst Rome's ruling elite. The poetic script had the ability to perpetuate competition both syn- and diachronically, through its inherent potential to be re-performed. Although the *Hedyphagetica* did not, we presume, list the specialities on offer at any one banquet, it represented the kind of banquet to which Rome's elite could now aspire. However, unlike the written records of the *commentarii*, which remained the preserve of the elite (the list above is drawn from the notes of the Pontifex Maximus Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius) the elite initially needed foreign professionals to produce and perform from poetic scripts.²⁴⁴ In grouping together the *Annales* and *commentarii*,

²³⁸ Rüpke (2004) 28. Cf. *certabant* (v.77) possible that Ennius retrospectively reflecting this into 7th C.

²³⁹ Rüpke (2004) 28.

²⁴⁰ Rüpke (2004) 28.

²⁴¹ Rüpke (2004) 28.

²⁴² This would provide a further example of the kind of reciprocal influence or unity, of 'ritual performance' and 'discursive reflection on ritual' proposed by Rüpke (2004) 26.

²⁴³ Especially when enhanced by the Greek form. However, it is important to note that despite the ritual significance of conviviality, the *Hedyphagetica* is not recreating a 'foundational scene'.

²⁴⁴ Sciarrino (2004b) 347-52 has shown that Cato the Censor modelled his writing activities on those of the pontifex maximus (Cicero *Pro Planc.* 66 = Cato *Orig.* 1.2 Sblendorio and Cugusi). In this way, Cato differentiated his own use of writing, as a means of loss of elite memory, from that of poets, who performed from written scripts. She reads the *Origines* as a written text intended to 'preserve the performance of a convivial catalogue together with some of the military and political performances that [...] sustained the supremacy of Rome'.

Rüpke is interested in ‘forms of communication and their interplay with specific historical changes in rituals’. By introducing the *Hedyphagetica* to this consideration, it is interesting that we can observe here poetic practice performing a legitimating role in the ritual of conviviality which appears to have replaced, or be in the process of replacing the convivial song of *sodales*.²⁴⁵ Ennius’ choice to avoid the traditional metre of convivial song, the Saturnian, and to translate into hexameters gains significance in this context.

As we saw in Chapter 1, poets and poetry came to be considered elements of competitive convivial display and Ennius himself encouraged his audience to consider his *poemata* as ‘textual artifacts’.²⁴⁶ His decision to translate Archestratus’ hexameters into Latin verse would have enhanced his audience’s perception of his poems as crafted objects. In recitation, Ennius’ Latin hexameters would have created what Sciarrino has described as:

a profound effect on the aural reception of his scripted performance since the rhythm of his speech would have in no way conjured up the song tradition of his audience.²⁴⁷

Indeed, it is possible that the *Hedyphagetica* was the first extant hexameter poem to be performed in convivial context.²⁴⁸ Whether or not this is the case, the question of dating throws into relief the militaristic connection once again, as the poem has traditionally been dated to Ennius’ participation in Nobilior’s Aetolia campaign. As Sciarrino has established, Ennius’ poetic project as a whole drew meaning from its connection with the campaign, in particular with Nobilior’s dedication of the

²⁴⁵ This seems to support Rüpke’s (2004) 37 arguments that ‘[t]he cycle of ritual performance and documentation reveals a kind of application of script that does not indicate substitution of ritual, but its reinforcement.’ Further, (2004) 40: ‘Texts and rituals are mutual contexts for ritual performance as well as for the reception of texts.’

²⁴⁶ See above n.85.

²⁴⁷ Sciarrino (2006) 463, also Sciarrino (forthcoming). Compare also Sciarrino (2004b) 335: ‘Ennius secured his living by framing the achievements of the Roman elite within a culturally loaded rhythmical device “translated” from Greece’. Although Sciarrino is referring here to the *Annales*, her analysis is equally applicable to the *Hedyphagetica*. On ‘translating’ the hexameter see also McElduff (2004b) 94-5, 130-3. See also Jocelyn (1972) 1017-20.

²⁴⁸ See below, pp. 61-2. Ennius also composed several hexameter *saturae*, eg. *Sat.* 23-4 Warmington.

Ambracia spoils, notably the dedication of the Ambraciote Muses.²⁴⁹ If indeed Ennius wished his audience to conceive of his translation as both document and extension of these spoils, both a crafted and ‘long-distance’ object, we should, following Helms and Sciarrino, recognise his act of poetic craftsmanship as ideologically significant.

Johnson’s attempt to situate ancient reading practices in their sociocultural context offers a useful analogy for understanding the *Hedyphagetica* as a crafted object.²⁵⁰ Johnson has emphasised the importance of skilled craftsmanship in the production of bookrolls, and in particular, the importance of aesthetic considerations for literary books, an expensive and elitist product often used ‘in a display setting’, for instance, in the context of post-prandial entertainment.²⁵¹ As Johnson notes, as a ‘cultural signifier’, the bookroll was in many ways comparable to the luxurious dining equipment also to be found in this context.²⁵² Although Johnson’s focus is on readings of prose literary texts, his approach suggests a further perspective from which we can understand the socio-cultural effects of poetic performances at the inception of the Roman literary tradition. Just as poetic scripts acquired relevance through performance, Johnson has shown that the ancient bookroll was conceived as a ‘script to be represented in performance (whether actualized or not)’.²⁵³ As he argues:

... bookrolls were not, in gross terms, conceptualized as static repositories of information (or pleasure), but rather as vehicles for performative reading in high social contexts.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ On the degree to which Ennius’ poetic interventions were both ‘sustained and legitimized’ by this connection see especially Sciarrino (2004a), with Sciarrino (2004b) 335; Sciarrino (2006) 462; Sciarrino (forthcoming). See also Gildenhard (2003), Rossi and Breed (2006).

²⁵⁰ Central to Johnson’s (2000) 603 analysis is the understanding of reading ‘as the negotiated construction of meaning within a particular sociocultural context’.

²⁵¹ Johnson (2000) 612-3. See, for example, Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.*, Pliny *Ep.* 3.5.11-12,

²⁵² Johnson (2000) 613. Johnson also emphasises the aesthetic effect: ‘the use of the bookroll, much like walking in a cultured garden or dining from a beautiful plate, demonstrates the owner’s ability to integrate a sense of aesthetic refinement into every aspect of daily life and society – an important goal in hellene and philhellene elite behaviors during the Roman era.’

²⁵³ Johnson (2000) 620. As Johnson observes, ‘the idea of the “reader” is complex: not simply the reader-listener, but a reader-performer who acts as an intermediary, much like an actor rendering a play.’ The form of bookrolls required the reader to assume an active role in interpreting and performing from the text. Johnson (2000) 620 also emphasises that ‘[t]he fact that sometimes for the solitary reader, the intermediary did not exist, was no more important in the conceptualization of the text than the fact that today people sometimes read plays silently to themselves.’

²⁵⁴ Johnson (2000) 616.

Indeed, Johnson's analysis establishes that performative readings in elite settings such as the banquet were not only a form of entertainment, but played an important role in the construction of the elite community itself, as shared activities that 'helped to bind and validate the group'.²⁵⁵ Let us return to the convivial recitation of the *Hedyphagetica* and the possible ways in which it was able to perform an authenticating function for Ennius' elite audience.

If we accept Sciarrino's contention that poetry was 'enticing' to Rome's elite because it was 'a practice that deepened and extended the cosmological dimensions inherent in their efforts at expansion', how does the *Hedyphagetica* translation reflect this?²⁵⁶ While I am not suggesting that the *Hedyphagetica* ever acquired the cultural significance of Livius' *Odussia*, I do suggest that it offered similar and alternative ways in which its elite audience could enhance and maintain their authority. Like Livius, Ennius drew on cosmological realms outside the centre, Rome. However, while Livius looked to the past by evoking the tradition of convivial song through his use of Saturnian metre, Ennius drew on another crucial element of convivial song, the celebration of the military accomplishments of the convivial group, members of Rome's ruling elite. Rather than singling out the deeds of individuals, Ennius' poem evokes the collective historical and ongoing achievement of Rome's military expansion. In the *Hedyphagetica*, the "back then" is also 'enhanced by a cultural good relocated from "out there"'.²⁵⁷ In Ennius' poem, however, it is the metrical form, the hexameter, which is transferred from the periphery to the Roman centre. The genre and theme of the poem, also translated from outside Rome, offer the audience an opportunity to reflect on the many resources to be acquired from 'outside'.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Johnson (2000) 616-24, quotation 619.

²⁵⁶ Sciarrino (2006) 461-2.

²⁵⁷ Sciarrino (2006) 458.

²⁵⁸ Wilkins (2003) 366 notes the similarities between the *Hedyphagetica* and Athenaeus' (1.7a-b) description of the gourmet Apicius, in which Apicius travels from Campanian Minturnae to Libya in search of even more excessively sized prawns. The Campanian prawns are found to be superior both to the Libyan and the famed prawns of Smyrna. As Wilkins remarks: '[i]t is a benefit of empire that such an ambition should be possible, to acquire the best-known specimens from three continents.' While, as Wilkins continues, Archestratus and Ennius 'provided just this information [...] hundreds of years before the imperial period', we have seen that Ennius' translation reflects the considerable Roman expansion of his own era.

Thematically, then, the *Hedyphagetica* seems particularly appropriate to performance in the convivial setting which, as we have seen, provided an important ritualised context in which Rome's ruling class constructed and maintained the collective authority which sustained its project of imperial expansion.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, the ideological significance of Ennius' poem was enhanced by its potential to create what Rüpke has called a legitimising 'reflection on ritual'. Ennius' poetic craftsmanship raises the further question of the associated elevation in the poet's own status which we would expect to find following Helm's approach.²⁶⁰ As a starting point for our exploration of Ennius' strategies of self-presentation in the *Hedyphagetica*, let us briefly reconsider Ennius' decision to translate the hexameter.

c) Constructing continuity in convivial discourse?

We know that the presence of poets in *convivia* was considered threatening by some members of the elite.²⁶¹ This is because while poetry sustained the military ideology of expansion, it was also a practice associated with foreign professionals that impinged upon the exclusivity of the elite *convivium*.²⁶² As we have seen, poetry was in this sense 'doubly "performative"', a means by which poets were able to increase their own status in Rome. As Sciarrino has suggested, in the *Annales*, Ennius' translation of the hexameter was also linked to the poet's strategy of self-presentation in the convivial context. The metrical shift enabled Ennius to dissociate himself from the Saturnian verses of his epic predecessors, in particular, from Naevius' *Bellum*

Compare also Wilkins' analysis of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. As Wilkins (2003) 369 concludes, Athenaeus' Greek guests 'bring their tribute of Greek literature to the new cultural centre of the world and constitute a new literary model in which Rome is no obliged to be the imperial city under siege from Greek culture but can claim to be the centre (the "ouranopolis," 1.20c) to which all the literature and all the food of the eastern Mediterranean is brought.'

²⁵⁹ See Sciarrino (2004b) 330-4 and Sciarrino (2006) 467 for Cato's discursive claims to the exclusivity of wars and banquets as sites for elite performances.

²⁶⁰ As Sciarrino (forthcoming) emphasises, the relationship between poets and the elite changes over time.

²⁶¹ Notably Cato, but compare also Sciarrino's (2006) 459-62, 465 discussion of the Metelli and Naevius.

²⁶² Sciarrino (2004a); Sciarrino (2004b); Sciarrino (2006) 461-2 and *passim*; Sciarrino (forthcoming).

Poenicum.²⁶³ According to Gellius (17.21.45), Naevius' epic had referred to its author's own participation in the First Punic War and the tradition surrounding Naevius suggests that this self-referentiality in a poem on the achievements of the Roman elite, composed in the traditional aristocratic metre, may not have been well received.²⁶⁴ Ennius' adoption of the hexameter may have enabled him to deflect attention from his encroachment on aristocratic rituals. As Gildenhard and Sciarrino have suggested:

Ennius's deployment of conceptual resources generated in the Greek world [made] his claim to poetic authorship tantamount to an abdication of social authority.²⁶⁵

Indeed, in his epic, Ennius nowhere reflects on his own direct involvement in Rome's military conquests and, as Sciarrino has established, 'manages partially to occlude what had prompted the construction of the *Annales* in the first place, namely, his close connection with Fulvius'.²⁶⁶ As Skutsch identified, in *Hedyphagetica* v. 3 Ennius was able to 'enlarge on his original' through his direct knowledge of the area surrounding Ambracia as a result of his participation in Fulvius Nobilior's Aetolian campaign, but Ennius' personal connection is not here made explicit.²⁶⁷ It is possible that the

²⁶³ Sciarrino (2006) 464, with Gildenhard (2003) 103-4. As Sciarrino (2004a) 51 points out, Naevius was the first to construct an epic poem around elite deeds. He was also responsible for the invention of *praetexta*. Compare Gildenhard's (2003) 98 observation that 'style is a crucial ingredient in the interaction between author and audience'.

²⁶⁴ On Naevius see especially Sciarrino (2006) 460-1, 464, 467-8, with Sciarrino (2004a) 51. From what we know of Ennius' extensive connections with Rome's ruling class, it seems unlikely that he was subject to such attacks. While Naevius composed the poem in Saturnians, Sciarrino (2006) 459 points out that the mythological framework was 'translated' from Greece.

²⁶⁵ Gildenhard (2003) 103-4, cited by Sciarrino (2006) 464. For further ways in which Ennius 'situates his poetic authorship within a profoundly non-Roman context' in the *Annales* see Sciarrino (2006) 463-5.

²⁶⁶ Sciarrino (2006) 463. Compare Horace *Epistles* 1.19.7-8: *Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma / prosiluit dicenda* 'Father Ennius himself never leapt forth to sing of arms except when drunk', where, as Hardie (2007) 141 emphasizes, 'the double-take engineered by the postponement of *dicenda* momentarily turns Ennius the poet into Ennius the man of action rather than merely the poet who records the deeds of the man of action'. Following La Penna (2003), he suggests that 'the figure whereby the poet represents himself as doing that which his poetry describes' can be traced to Ennius *Ann.* 403 Sk.: *quippe uetusta uirum non est satis bella moueri*. Ennius was later portrayed as a warrior-poet by Silius; see Casali (2006).

²⁶⁷ Skutsch (1968) 38-9, followed by Bettini (1979) 55-7; Courtney (1993); Olson and Sens (2000); Connors (2005) 125. Skutsch (1968) 38-9 followed Salmasius' emendation of *Hedyphagetica* v. 3. Salmasius recognised that *caradrum* was in anastrophe with *apud*, identifying *caradrus* as the 'channel' of Ambracia. Although later scholars have preferred to identify *caradrus* with the town Charadrus or Charadra, a small city on the north coast of the

military setting (*inter pugnas* v. 286) of the ‘Good Companion’ scene, *Ann.* 268-86 Sk., may also contain a reflection on Ennius’ involvement with Nobilior in Aetolia.²⁶⁸ Sciarrino has emphasised that the ideal companion has no place in the military action. Instead, Ennius’ depiction draws attention to ‘the positive contributions that literary figures like [Ennius could] make to Roman aristocratic life’.²⁶⁹

... he lays no claim to military and political prestige and presents himself as preserving and transmitting a specific type of cultural knowledge that is to be used and consumed by his elite audience.²⁷⁰

The ‘Good Companion’ scene has been the subject of much scholarship as it helps us to reflect on how Ennius presented his role as poet to his elite sponsors.²⁷¹ Let us briefly consider the convivial setting for this scene and how it can assist us to think about Ennius’ strategy of self-presentation in the *Hedyphagetica*.

The exchange between Servilius Geminus and his *amicus minor* is envisaged as taking place over a meal, or, as Hardie posits, ‘the Ennian Good Companion’ attends ‘the table of the great man’.²⁷²

Ambracian gulf, what is significant here is the addition of geographical precision not present in Arcestratus’ text.

²⁶⁸ Sciarrino (2006) 465. It has long been recognised that the scene may reflect Ennius’ own relationship with Fulvius Nobilior. See Gellius 12.4; Jocelyn (1972) 994; Skutsch (1985) 450 and more recently Habinek (1998) 51; Rüpke (2001) 51; Gildenhard (2003) 110; Hardie (2007) 133. See also Goldberg (1995) 122: ‘The poet is at best, if we accept Stilo’s testimony, giving literary form to a social relationship congruent with his own circumstances, but that is still enough to help us.’ For the ‘Good Companion’ in Horace’s *Satires* and *Epistles* see Hardie (2007) 134-6, 140.

²⁶⁹ Gildenhard (2003) 110. See Gildenhard (2003) 109-11 for full discussion. See also Gruen (1990) 111-3; Sciarrino (2006) 465: ‘he emphasizes the benefits that a member of the ruling elite can draw from having a lesser but faithful man at his side at all times.’

²⁷⁰ Sciarrino (2006) 465.

²⁷¹ Compare the approach of Habinek (1998) 51. For Habinek, the *amicus minor* ‘fulfils a function comparable to that of literature. By providing a historical and cultural context for the real and proposed behavior of the great man, he indirectly constrains him to behave in a way that is the opposite of *malum*, that is, *bonum*, or as an aristocrat should [...] it seems taken for granted that the great man needs a friend of lesser rank because in his relationship with other great men he is always on display and in a state of implied yet intense competition before an audience.’

²⁷² Hardie postulates Ennian model of ‘an idealizing picture of intimacy at the dinner-table’ (1997) 139. Gildenhard (2003) 110. See also Rüpke (2001) 51: ‘der Dichter als der perfekte Banketteilnehmer’. Dominik (1993) 41 notes the Good Companion’s ‘Epicurean tendencies’, with Hardie (2007) 140.

*hace locutus uocat quocum bene saepe libenter
mensam sermonesque suos rerum suarum
consilium partit, ... (Ann. 268-70 Sk.)*

So saying he called one with whom he very often, at his pleasure, shared his table and his conversation and deliberations about his private affairs ...²⁷³

The contrast with Servilius' completion of and relaxation from public duties (vv. 270-2) situates the dinner within the private sphere of *otium* and a description of the attributes of Servilius' companion follows.²⁷⁴ Jocelyn's reading of the *Hedyphagetica* as 'a manifestation of Ennius' "social good humour"' suggests a parallel with the easy-going conversation Servilius could enjoy with his confidant (vv. 273-85) and is consonant with the scene's setting of commensality.²⁷⁵ Although Jocelyn does not speculate on the context for the reception of the *Hedyphagetica*, he envisages Ennius' poem as 'perhaps addressed to one of his patrons going on an embassy to foreign parts'.²⁷⁶ Jocelyn's interpretation ascribes to Ennius a certain advisory competence with relation to his elite audience. Such a role would call on Ennius' ability to transmit his own specific cultural knowledge, a quality which we can perhaps include among the good companion's knowledge of customs old and new (v. 283).²⁷⁷ Could the *Hedyphagetica* provide a context for Ennius to present himself as a source of convivial wisdom for his elite sponsors? Reading the *Hedyphagetica* next to several further Ennian fragments may help us to explore the idea of Ennius as a repository of convivial wisdom.

Habinek's recent assessment of the relationship between *sophia* and *sapientia* which Ennius establishes in the *Annales* (211-12 Sk.) raises two important considerations for our understanding of the *Hedyphagetica*. First, Ennius presents Roman *sapientia* as 'a new player on the stage of intellectual history', which extends

²⁷³ Translation Hardie (2007) 132.

²⁷⁴ Hardie (2007) 133; Gildenhard (2003) 111.

²⁷⁵ Jocelyn (1972) 994. Gildenhard (2003) 111 considers him a 'perfect partner in conversation' (v. 285).

²⁷⁶ Jocelyn (1972) 994.

²⁷⁷ *multa tenens antiqua, sepulta uestutas / Quae facit, et mores ueteresque novosque ... (Ann. 283-4 Sk.)*

rather than yields to Greek *sophia*.²⁷⁸ In Habinek's view, Ennius' conception of *sapientia* relates to the broader themes of the epic, which inaugurates the idea that 'Greece's past finds its fulfilment in Rome's present'.²⁷⁹ Second, Habinek draws attention to *sapientia*'s etymological associations with 'taste' or 'discrimination'²⁸⁰ and proposes that:

Ennius' privileging of the term *sapientia* assigns to the convivial wisdom of the Roman *sodalis* the cachet of Greek philosophical learning and insight.²⁸¹

Habinek further emphasises the significance of the 'real or projected' convivial setting for the satiric fragments in this context.²⁸² *Sat.* 6-7 Warmington has particularly strong convivial associations for Ennius' verses:

*Enni poeta salve qui mortalibus
uersus propinas flammeos medullitus!*

Your health, poet Ennius, who pass to mortal men
a cup of flaming verses drawn from your very marrow!²⁸³

As we have seen, from a ritual perspective, conviviality was an essential means by which 'authoritative agency' was established and transmitted within Rome's ruling elite.²⁸⁴ According to Habinek, 'Ennius' invocation of the *conuiuium* as a context for display of his advisory competence as satirist builds on and reinforces this broader

²⁷⁸ Habinek's (2006) 486 analysis builds on Scafoglio's (2002) observation that Ennius' dream of Homer 'establishes continuity between the Greek and Roman traditions, with the latter supplanting even as it extends the former'.

²⁷⁹ Habinek (2006) 486-7.

²⁸⁰ Habinek (2006) 478-9, 487-8.

²⁸¹ Habinek (2006) 487. Notes that 'Ennius' interest in *sapientia* reinforces our own awareness of the importance of conviviality as a frame of reference for understanding early Latin literature.'

²⁸² For instance *conuiuat* (*Sat.* 1 Warmington), with *Sat.* 14 and 19 Warmington. Cited by Habinek (2006) 487. In the *Saturae*, Ennius introduced a variety of Greek metres, including the hexameter and elegiac couplet, into Latin, despite its later reputation as *carmen Graecis intactum*: Horace *Sat.* 1.10.66, cited by Jocelyn (1972) 1025.

²⁸³ Translation: Warmington. According to Jocelyn (1972) 1025, Ennius' appearance in the poem would have precluded performance on the public stage. Compare also *Sat.* 64 Vahlen = 21 Warmington, *Numquam poetor nisi si podager* 'I never write poetry unless my feet hurt', interpreted by some commentators to mean that Ennius didn't write poetry unless he was drunk. For this tradition see Casali (2006) 573, 573 n.7, following Serenus *Lib. Med.* 706-7: *Ennius ipse pater dum pocula siccat iniqua, / hoc uitio tales fertur meruisse dolores* ('Father Ennius himself, because he drained empty an excessive number of cups, is said to have deserved this physical pain as a consequence of his vice').

²⁸⁴ Habinek (2006) 487 and above, pp. 48-9 with references.

cultural phenomenon'.²⁸⁵ I have suggested that the performance of the *Hedyphagetica*, a poem with explicitly convivial themes, in a convivial setting offers the same benefits to its elite audience. I would also like to suggest that by presenting himself as a source of convivial precepts, and positioning himself as expert, Ennius was able to improve his own social authority, as the first poet engaging in translations of Greek sympotic literature for the Roman *convivium*.²⁸⁶ It is possible that by choosing to translate a poem defined by its *autopsia*, Ennius presented himself as uniquely qualified to perform such a task in Rome.²⁸⁷ However, Ennius' authority is restricted to the convivial sphere and consists in drawing on the Greek tradition and making it relevant to Rome. While Ennius constructs continuity with the tradition of sodalician song, by assigning himself an explicitly convivial set of expertise, centred on the relocation of cultural knowledge from the Greek-speaking world, he is able to enhance the practices of the Roman elite without encroaching too greatly on their traditional roles.²⁸⁸ He also constructs his own role in the Roman *convivium*.

Ennius' strategy of self-presentation enables him to participate in social spaces traditionally reserved to Rome's elite by creating new ways in which to reflect on elite activities and achievements and his own role in this context. I consider the *Hedyphagetica* to be an earlier, or at least alternative, attempt to gain access to a more exclusive social setting. The relative chronology of Ennius' works is uncertain, but attempts at dating allow for this possibility. Although most scholars now accept

²⁸⁵ Habinek (2006) 487-8. He comments further: 'as would his performance of the *Annales* at *convivia*, if we could be sure that such was his practice'.

²⁸⁶ Ennius' *Sota* is generally considered to be a translation of or at least modelled on a poem by Sotades (c. 280 BCE), inventor of cinaedic poetry. See *OCD* 526 s.v. Ennius; Warmington (1935) 403; Rossi and Breed (2006) 402. Cinaedic poetry gave a literary form to the sympotic performances of *kinaedologoi*: *OCD* 332 s.v. Cinaedic poetry. For the symposium as the performance context for Sotades' poetry see Cameron (1995) 98. For the possibility that Lucilius, a Roman *eques*, translated Matro's *Attic Dinner* in Book V of his satires see Shero (1929). The fragments of Lucilius' satires contain numerous references to lavish feasts and delicacies, see for instance those cited by Gruen (1992) 304 n.168.

²⁸⁷ On *autopsia* see Bettini (1979) 58-61. Note also Apuleius' (*Apol.* 39.2) *curiose cognorat*.

²⁸⁸ Compare the 're-ritualizing' role ascribed to Plautus' incorporation of convivial wisdom by Habinek (2005a) 48-55. Habinek has shown that convivial precepts, instances of, 'what we might term *dicta sodalium*, the sayings of the *sodales*', are preserved in Plautine comedy. He compares *Bacch.* 394-7 to the later proverbial collection the *Distichia Catonis* and fragments of the *Carmen* of Appius Claudius Caecus, concluding (2005a) 49 that 'Plautus' audience would have heard Mnesilochus's reflections as being in the style of Latin wisdom literature – or, better, wisdom song – which itself is likely to have circulated in convivial contexts.'

Skutsch's argument that the *Hedyphagetica* cannot be considered a precursor to the *Annales* on metrical grounds alone, his reasoning does not preclude the earlier composition of the *Hedyphagetica*.²⁸⁹ Indeed the experimental nature of Ennius' *opera minora* is widely recognised and, as Skutsch establishes, the *Annales* must have belonged to the later period of Ennius' life.²⁹⁰ Skutsch has suggested that Ennius began work on the *Annales* in c. 184 B.C.E and, as we have seen, posited 189 as the *terminus post quem* for the *Hedyphagetica* on the basis of Ennius' participation in Nobilior's Aetolia Campaign.²⁹¹ Reflecting on Ennius' presence in Nobilior's entourage points up the change in dynamic we have seen in relation to Arcestratus' text. While both poems aim to affirm the social superiority of their intended audience, Arcestratus' poem seems best interpreted as an attempt to maintain the exclusivity of the sympotic privileges of the elite. Ennius', as we have seen, is instrumental in opening up the *convivium* to a new 'poetic' paradigm for convivial performance in Rome. The extent to which the *Hedyphagetica* translation played a role in Ennius' achievement may have been insignificant next to his more enduring poetic monument. It is reassuring that Horace, who wrote that 'the Roman people valued only things coming from "far away lands or extinct by time" ("nisi quae terris semota suisque / temporibus defuncta," Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.21-22 Brink)' and cited Ennius extensively, also alludes to his *Hedyphagetica*.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Skutsch (1968) 38-9; Skutsch (1985) 3-4, followed by Jocelyn (1972) 999. For the argument that metrical differences stem from Ennius' experimentation with the hexameter see most recently Suerbaum (2002) 133. This view seems to date from Jaekel's (1902) *De poetarum Sicularum hexametro*, cited by Suerbaum (2003) 23, 228.

²⁹⁰ On the experimental nature see especially Suerbaum (2002) 125; Jocelyn (1972) 994 and above, p. 28. Jocelyn considers the *Hedyphagetica* as earlier than the *Annales* (1972) 1018. For the dating of the *Annales* and the relative chronology of Ennius' works see also Rossi and Breed (2006) 402 who note that the consensus that *Annales* 'must belong to the last part of the poet's career and could have been begun as late as Ennius's return in 187 from Aetolia'.

²⁹¹ On the *Annales* see Skutsch (1985) 6. Skutsch's dating of the *Hedyphagetica* is followed by Jocelyn (1972) 997; Bettini (1979) 56; Courtney (1993) 4; Suerbaum (2002) 133. Olson and Sens (2000) 242 suggest that Skutsch's argument is rendered less compelling by the frequency with which Ambracia is elsewhere mentioned in the *Hedupatheia*.

²⁹² Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.30-4 *lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae; / sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testa. / murices Baiano melior Lucrina peloris, / ostrea Circeis, Miseno oriuntur echini, / pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum*, with Olson and Sens (2000) 243. Note also the recipes in *Serm.* 2.4, 2.8. Quotation: Sciarrino (2006) 459. For Horace's allusions to Ennius see Hardie (2007).

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Appendix

Correspondences in the location of fish species between Ennius' *Hedyphagetica* and Archestratus' *Hedupatheia*

Ennius			Archestratus		
v. 1	<i>mustela marina</i> , sea-weasel	Clipea	fr. 46. 15-16	γαλέη / γαλή, unidentified herbivorous rock- fish	Syracuse
v. 2	<i>mures</i> , mussels	Ainus	fr. 7. 1	μῦς μεγάλους	Ainus
v. 2	<i>aspra ostrea</i> , rough-shelled oysters	Abydus	fr. 7. 1	ὄστρεα	Abydus
v. 3	<i>pecten</i> , scallop	Mitylene, Ambracian Charadrus	fr. 7. 2	κτένας	Mytilene
v. 4	<i>sargus</i> , sargue	Brindisium	fr. 37. 3	σαργόν	Ambracia
v. 5	<i>apriculum</i> <i>piscem</i> , boar-fish	Tarentum	fr. 16. 2	κάπρος	
v. 6	<i>elopem</i> , <i>elops</i>	Surrentum	fr. 12. 1	ἔλοπα	
v. 6	<i>glaucum</i> , <i>glaukos</i>	Cumae	fr. 21. 1-2	γλάυκου κεφαλὴν	Syracuse (best); Asia Minor, Crete Olynthos, Megara
v. 7	<i>scarum</i> , parrot- wrasse	Pylos	fr. 14.1 42.1	σκάρος	Chalcedon, Byzantium Ephesus
v. 9	<i>melanurum</i> , blacktail				
v. 9	<i>turdum</i> , rainbow- wrasse				
v. 9	<i>merulam</i> , blackbird-fish				
v. 9	<i>umbram</i> <i>marinam</i> , maigre				
v. 10	<i>polypus</i> , octopus	Corcyra	fr. 54	πολύποι	Thasos, Caria, Corcyra
v. 10	<i>calvaria pinguia</i> <i>acarnae</i> , fat bass heads	Corcyra	fr. 46.2	ἰκάραξ = λάβραξ, sea-bass	River Gaison
v. 11	<i>purpura</i> / <i>muriculi</i> , large and small purple shellfish	Corcyra			
v. 11	<i>mures</i> , mussels	Corcyra			
v. 11	<i>echini</i> , sea- urchins	Corcyra			